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*A lamp of kindest light
You had been in my search
for truth beyond reality
Ever so loving and bright
Beckoned me in my path
To the feet of the Kevali
Where merges the beauty
of eternity*

*Now you have gone afar
Though I shall see you ever
And feel the dust of your moon-beam
Sprinkled here
From your departed soul
That will remain with me
And will seem
A lamp of kindest light*



Sumati Chand Samsukha

Born April 7, 1912

Died January 15, 1980

Winning ! The Jain Art of Self Mastery

LYSSA MILLER

What is the Jain art of self mastery all about ? It is about conquering — conquering our fears, our pain, our confusion, and our unrest. It is about freedom — freedom from the negatives of our daily existence. It is about mind over matter, and self over mind. Finally, it is about winning !

Jainism has long been maligned by Western scholars as an ascetic tradition in the extreme. But if we look more closely, we will find that the fundamental insights of modern psychology are at the heart of this ancient tradition. The concepts of self-help and self mastery are found in Jainism which is a pragmatic philosophy as up-to-date as the discoveries of Freud and Jung.

This tradition dates back into pre-history ; several of its earliest teachers are mentioned in the Hindu Vedas. Modern Jains follow closely the principles taught by Mahavira, a contemporary of Buddha (599 B.C. - 527 B.C.), who was the last of 24 Jain tirthankaras (founders of the path) and the first whose words were written down. The philosophy of Mahavira is not religion, but a way of life which is beneficial to people of any culture and time. The Jains believe that the persistent and unbiased study of the nature of things as they are provides the basis for the art of self mastery.

We can look at the development of Jain thought as a series of questions about ourselves and the worlds we live in : the inner world of our memories and emotions and dreams ; and the outer world of our social relationships. The answers to these questions are found ultimately in personal, individual experience.

The Jains believe that to conquer our inner world and find our rightful place under the sun, we must first understand who and what we are. We must learn to distinguish between the Self and the not-Self. Only then do we know what we are dealing with. Only then are we cognizant of the relative force of energies — the energy of Self and that of matter.

The question underlying all questions is "Who am I ?" Do we really know who we are ? If not, if we're not sure, the Jains tell us to begin by

looking for a constant in our life, something which is with us from our earliest memories to the present. What is that which is always with us ? Isn't it the awareness that I look out on to the world, that I tune into my environment through the senses, and that I move about in this environment, reacting to what my senses tell me and initiating actions according to my perception and judgement ? Isn't the constant the unshakable belief — in fact, the certain knowledge — that I exist ? This experience of "I am" is what the Jains call *jiva* — living, conscious energy — energy aware of itself.

Now, what exactly is this world which we observe and listen to and taste and smell and touch ? What can this consciousness called "I" learn about it ? Isn't it that it is a world of continuous flux, a universe of motion and rest, of innumerable whirling particles in space ? Isn't it a world caught in the intricacies of time ? Can it be that this universe contains an infinite quantum of material energy — an energy unconscious of itself ? Such a physical universe is defined by Jain thought as the not-Self (*ajiva*), inanimate energy ; energy which is not and never will be conscious of itself.

The word Jain is derived from the Sanskrit word, Jina which means "the conquerer". Anyone who works to take charge of his or her existence and to overcome the mental and emotional blocks which impede his or her growth is a Jain. Ultimately he or she becomes a winner in the game of life. So, no matter what else that person may be : Jew or Christian, Buddhist or Hindu, theist or atheist, he is a "jina".

The Jain art of self mastery begins with watching (*upa yoga*) : watching ourselves as we relate to the world ; becoming aware of the quality of our daily existence so that we can free ourselves from unconscious, mechanical actions and experience the spontaneity of the present moment. This means that we watch what we do, and how and why we do what we do. We become aware of the impact on others of what we say. We notice the way our preconceived notions dictate the choices we make. We find out that what we once thought were benefits from our old habits are, in fact, negative and self-limiting. Watching is the key which opens the door of right action. It is the first step into freedom.

As Jinas, we are given four basic hints for going about the business of conquering. The first hint is inherent in the principle of non-violence (*ahimsa*) which originated with Mahavira and, incidentally, inspired Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance movement which, in turn, influenced the thinking of Martin Luther King. The principle of *ahimsa* rests

on our recognizing that we are, in fact, conscious energy, and that we share this quality of consciousness with all living beings. In the language of Albert Schweitzer, ahimsa is reverence for life. Ahimsa demands that we value life above all else. It encourages us to strive for harmony between individuals, between families, between nations, and between races. But like everything else in Jain thought, non-violence begins within the individual. It begins with thoughts which are not resentful, with words which do not sting, and with actions which do not harm. Learning the quality of harmlessness, we free ourselves from alienation, and open ourselves to the flow of good feeling between people.

The second hint we are given lies in the concept of relativity of thinking (*anekantavada*), the idea that there are as many approaches to truth as there are people. Learning to see things from another person's point of view is key to breaking away from our old, rigid patterns of thinking. Truth is many-faceted, and the Jain belief is that any time we make a definitive statement, we should be aware that we are speaking from an experience of only one facet. Most of us normally see things "through a glass darkly" ; that is, filtered through all the prejudices we have unconsciously borrowed from our parents and teachers and from the society into which we were born. When we fully realize this, we can stop clinging to a limited point of view. It doesn't mean that we shouldn't stand by our convictions, but we can soften our dealings with other people with an appreciation of their side of an issue. Relativity of thinking enlarges the truth for us so that we can begin to perceive things as they really are. We can begin to be universal in our thinking so that we can feel at home anywhere in the world.

The third hint is the teaching of non-acquisition (*aparigraha*), the suggestion that we limit our possessions in order not to be slaves to the never-ending desire to accumulate. That is not to say that many of our possessions are not useful and often necessary in order for us to survive in the world and to make our days more comfortable. However, when the effort to accumulate and care for material things begins to consume our time and energy and burden us with worry, then we had better ask ourselves, "What do I really need ? How much of what I have is a help to me, and how much is simply a burden ?" But possessions are not only material. For many people, possessions include other people — the wife or husband they have learned to rely on, the friend who keeps them from feeling their loneliness, the child parents count on to give meaning to their lives and fulfil all their unrealized dreams. In themselves, the wife or husband, child or friend may be beautiful, positive, enriching presences in our lives. But we must watch that our relationships

with them are not marred by our possessiveness and demands, and we must see that we don't collect and manipulate friends and family as we do our material things. In reality, we can turn anything into our possession. There are people whose possessions include a job which gives them prestige or a position of power, or fame which gives them an identity when they themselves may have no idea who they are. These people cannot live without their possessions; they do not know themselves except in relation to their possessions. In other words, possessions are those things which possess us even while we believe we possess them. The practice of non-acquisition is the practice of non-attachment: learning to free ourselves from the things that bind us. It doesn't mean non-caring. In fact, caring begins only when we can be unconditional in our relationships. When we no longer stifle our friendships with our constant demands and expectations, then we begin to sympathize with another's pain and appreciate another's growth. When we are free from the thirst for more, more, more — more things, more thrills, more praise, we begin to maintain some degree of serenity in the face of all our problems and uncertainties. Paradoxically, non-acquisition does not limit us; it expands us. It encourages a person to discover his or her worth independent of what other people say or think. It helps us to stand on our own feet — to be self-reliant even as we share in the give and take of our daily relationships.

The fourth hint that Jain philosophy gives us is the law of cause and effect (karma), the idea that every effect has a cause, that we are therefore responsible for the quality of our life. The Jains share their belief in karma with the Hindus and Buddhists; but because it is so essential to their world view, they have developed it in greater depth. They see each individual consciousness as intrinsically perfect, but covered by a film of mistaken beliefs and self-limiting fears. Consciousness is like the flame of a gas lamp whose chimney is dimmed by years of accumulated soot. In fact, the Jains quite literally see this soot, these karmas, as physical particles more fine than the atoms or quarks of today's physics. Each thought and word and action attracts some form of these particles to us. If we are positive, our karmas are positive; if we are negative, our karmas are also negative. Our karmas attract the conditions in which we live, the opportunities we enjoy, or the obstacles we come up against. They give rise to our sicknesses and our periods of health. The law of karma assumes that we can dictate much of our future by attending to the quality of what we do in the present. We can free ourselves from bondage to our karmas, good or bad, in moments of meditation or inner contemplation. In these moments, the clouds of confusion part, and we come in touch with our true nature. We experience

the qualities of permanence (sat), understanding of what is (cit), and bliss (ananda). In other words, we can know what and who we are, and we can take charge of our relationship to the material world. Taking charge of our participation with life makes each person a winner in his or her personal drama. Each person conquers his world as soon as he takes responsibility for what happens to him. Then we no longer blame others for our misfortunes. Instead, we ourselves begin to dissolve the negatives in our life by being aware of each moment.

The Jain art of self mastery is the art of awareness, and awareness frees us to be who we are. As the energy of perfect consciousness, each individual takes charge of his thoughts and emotions and the course of his life. Each individual conquers the enemy of his own negativity. This is the Jain art of self mastery. This is the art of winning !

Perspectives on Human Communication

RICHARD KLEIFGEN

How do we evaluate the use of a life ?

One small flower pokes her head above the soil deep in a forest. She sprouts and blossoms, spreading her petals to the sun and gives the natural gift of her fragrance, the beauty of her shape and hue miles from any human eye. The earth eventually recalls this wee one, as it does each form it sends. And so she wilts quietly some evening and her form bends to rest.

Another sister raises her face along a path in a busy city park. The folks go walking there every day, now eager for spring's first signals. Their eyes delight at the first green shoots and feast on our friend's full blooming. Her life is spent as the center of exaltation, the object of unbounded adoration. As the days wane and the departure approaches, her every change brings a sigh of regret from some new onlooker. And then, like her soul-mate hidden far away, she too returns to the source of her bounty.

How would you compare these two lives, given so freely and fully in nature ? How do you decide and then judge your own path, your mission, your purpose in life ?

Part I

To communicate with other life forms, especially other human beings, is a basic drive in human life. One can debate precisely where this impulse might stand in a hierarchy of human needs. Is it as basic as the need for food, water and air ? Should it be classed with shelter, clothing and other less primary drives ? Or does it belong in a category with more altruistic longings such as truth, beauty and justice ? However one chooses to categorize it, the fact that it is an intrinsic part of life seems undeniable.

Alongside this drive, which may be considered a need to go outward, to project consciousness into relationships, there stands another often opposing desire to go in, to be alone, to commune with one's own being,

be in tune with one's inner voice to the exclusion of all distractions. This drive has compelled men to leave human companionship and seek out spots of serene seclusion in order to be undisturbed in the practice of spiritual disciplines such as fasting, silence and meditation. This is the expression of the need of consciousness to experience itself, to rest in a feeling of wholeness. This experience is so intrinsically rewarding and fulfilling that it has been named bliss, freedom, perfection; and it has, for ages, beckoned to men and caused them to give up all worldly involvements — possessions, family ties, social relations, positions of power and glory.

As each of us experiences life and its potential, we come face to face with these two needs, these opposing drives. They find their expression in the great accomplishment of history, the highest ideals of humanity. The need to communicate and reach out takes form in the search for and striving to establish utopias, perfect communities where economic, social and political systems are designed to nurture the finest in human relations. The inward path is expressed in the monastic life, the solitary monk or nun, the choice to seek refinement and even perfection of consciousness in tranquil isolation.

Each of us must choose between these two ways of living, or live in such a way that a balance between the two can be maintained. Because this decision is so relevant to each of us and so poignantly characteristic of the human condition, it will be valuable to examine the teaching of the Jaina tradition, both explicit and implicit, to ascertain what it has to say about these questions.

One of the first facts we discover is that of the twenty-four Tirthankaras or supreme exemplars of Jain philosophy, all but two were married and lived, for a time at least, in familial settings.¹ Most were princes or kings, rulers with great power and responsibility before they renounced and took their inward journey.

Adinatha, the very first Tirthankara, is credited with giving humanity the gift of culture. He taught people how to write and read and how to govern themselves. He gave rules for organizing family and society,

¹ Only Mallinatha the 19th Tirthankara, and Neminatha, the 22nd in the line, did not marry. Nemi agreed to take a wife, but refused to take part in the ceremonies when he saw the poor beasts being gathered to be slaughtered for the wedding feast. He renounced the world then and there and went into the wilderness to attain enlightenment.

and he taught men and women about art, agriculture and economics.² Before his time such activities, now so engrained in our lives that we can hardly imagine life without them, were unnecessary. Men and women lived in harmony together, and the earth was rich and sweet. All that was needed to sustain life was readily available to everyone, and although there were no shortages, generosity and magnanimity prevailed.³ As these conditions deteriorated and people began to have conflicts a teacher and leader was needed to uplift and enlighten humanity. This became Adinath's mission on earth : he was the saviour who rose to meet the challenge of that time. Thus one could say a precedent of attending to worldly duties was established by the first Tirthankara.

The very word used to describe these twenty-four prophets points out the paradox we are exploring. The term Tirthankara is literally defined as "bridge-builder". But the bridge they build by the example of their lives can be interpreted both as a span from one shore to another — this world to liberation (*mokṣa*) across the sea of *samsāra* — or as a link between life and life, a connection and meeting among souls for the purpose of mutual evolution and spiritual growth.

It is noteworthy that Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya chose these words for the dedication of his book, *Jain Philosophy: An Historical Outline* : "Dedicated as a mark of devotion and reverence to the holy name of Lord Mahavira who inspired men to fight against oppression and exploitation, disease and death, cruelty and caste, anger and pride, deceit and greed."⁴ Here again the dual nature of the mission of life is evident — oppression, exploitation, disease, death, cruelty and caste are enemies of the outer world, bindings imposed by outer forces ; anger, pride, deceit and greed are the most tenacious inner enemies of mankind, the four passions or *kaṣāyas* of *mohanīya karma*

*** Historical Considerations ***

When we look at the life and teaching of Mahavira, we find the same two-sided approach. Born to royalty, he became a husband and father before leaving the palace to strike out on the path of asceticism at the age of thirty. After twelve and a half years of austerities and meditation

² *Religion and Culture of the Jains*, Joyti Prasad Jain, Bharatiya Jnanpith, b/45-47 Connaught Place, New Delhi, 1977, p 10.

³ "Infancy of Human Race as Depicted in the Jain Agamas", J. C. Sikdar, *Jain Journal*, Vol. VII, No 2, Oct 1972, Jain Bhavan, Calcutta.

⁴ *Jain Philosophy in Historical Outline*, N. N. Bhattacharya, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, 54 Rani Jhansi Rd, New Delhi 110055, 1976.

(*dhyāna*), he attained the state of omniscience and then returned to teach the people. When he presented his sermons, he chose to use Prakrit, the language of the common man rather than Sanskrit, the more refined medium of scholars and theologians. Mahavira wanted to communicate with all people, to make his message accessible to everyone, not just the intelligentsia.

Mahavira had great influence on public policy in his time, as he worked to reduce oppression of women, to eliminate slavery and discrimination by caste, and to diminish the slaughter of animals for religious sacrifice and also for food. He did so by taking positive actions in his own teaching. For example, he reorganized the four-fold order of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen and initiated an untouchable, Metarya, as a muni. Furthermore, he liberated Candanabala from the bondage of slavery and initiated her as the first nun. As a result kings and princes were compelled to bow in respect and reverence to a former serving girl and a lowly untouchable.

This forward-thinking style of living marks one aspect of the way Mahavira brought about social and political reform. The other way was to be available as a spiritual guide and consultant to the kings and rulers of his time. Bimbisara, also known as Srenika, one of the most famous emperors in Indian History, and his queen Celana, helped to lead the lay orders of disciples of Mahavira. Bimbisara's royal successor, Ajatasatru, and his son in turn, Udayi, were also followers of Mahavira's teaching. Many other royal families who followed the philosophy of Mahavira, and his disciples at that time met resistance almost nowhere.

Parsvanatha, whose historicity is not questioned by serious scholars, was the twenty-third Tirthankara, living in the 8th century B.C. He gained a very large following, including some powerful rulers. Also, it appears that his influence spread far beyond India's borders, reaching central Asia and probably even to Greece.⁵

Neminatha, the twenty-second Tirthankara, was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa and is generally thought to have lived in the 15th century B.C. He is especially renowned for his steadfast teaching against the slaughter of animals for religious sacrifice as well as for food. Parsvanatha and Mahavira continued to make this a main point in their teaching also, and as a result they both did much to restore vegetarianism as a way of life in their respective eras.

⁵ *Religion and Culture of the Jains*, p 13.

Throughout the history since Mahavira's time, Jaina munis have consistently been recognized by emperors, kings and princes for their wisdom and spiritual insight. Rulers of Magadha, Mahavira's native land, were generally favourable to Jainism, if not real adherents, for centuries after his passing in 527 B.C. About 325 B.C. Candragupta Maurya established a new dynasty there and extended the empire considerably. His political *guru*, guide and prime minister was Canakya who was believed to be a Jaina. In 297 B.C. he abdicated the throne to follow the path of a Jaina ascetic.

Candragupta's son, Bindusara, also adopted the Jaina faith and his successor was the famous Asoka, who was a Jaina until being converted to Buddhism. His grandson, Samprati, is remembered as a great patron of Jainism. Various other rulers in different parts of India followed Jaina teaching and took munis as their *gurus* and guides until, by 300 A.D. Jainism was a firmly established philosophy in most parts of India.

In the middle ages, there are some cases of persecution, but they are rare; and though royal favour was not as readily forthcoming, generally munis continued to be sought out as court *gurus* and teachers. In many spots Jaina learning centers flourished.

In the 12th and 13th centuries Islamic faith became an important factor in India, especially in the Delhi area. In response, what is called "Hinduism" underwent a fervent revival and Buddhism largely disappeared. Jainism held its own under these heavy odds. In the time of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) Jaina *gurus* were honoured in the court and much literature was produced by Jaina scholars throughout the Mughal period.

*** Modern Times ***

During the British regime and throughout the 20th century movement for independence, Jainas were found in the forefront of the struggle, always supporting Mahatma Gandhi in his steady and determined efforts to gain freedom through non-violent action. Since independence, they have lived peaceful, prosperous and healthy lives in all parts of India. While their numbers have decreased, they have maintained positions of leadership in trade and commerce, government and politics, and also in the professions.

Thus is the situation today among the Jaina laity. The munis still have an influence on public events which far outweighs their numbers.

When one renounces to become a monk, he gives up all direct involvement in economic and political affairs such as voting. Perhaps it is because of this total separation from the arena of petty political struggles that the Jaina monks are still looked upon for counsel and advice by leaders and rulers.

It is important to realize that this attitude of non-involvement in political disputes and wrangling has its basis in the philosophical principle of *anekāntavāda* or many-sidedness, a tenet which ranks next to *ahimsā* in importance in Jainism. *Anekāntavāda* means that truth has many facets and each point of view concerning a particular issue or situation has relative validity and merit. Because two parties see things differently, even exactly opposite of each other, does not mean that one is right and the other wrong, one opinion true and the other false. If we look deeper, we shall see that each side has its background and reasons for arriving at its conclusions. With this broader understanding, we can accept all points of view "as they are", without judging in old preset ways which are merely attitudes shaped by the values of our particular culture and society.

This attitude of universal acceptance promotes tolerance and flexibility in personal and also political relations. It is largely for this reason that Jainas and Jainism have remained in India while other groups have been forced out. Jainas throughout history have cooperated with leaders whenever possible while others chose to confront powers and lost.

Thus history teaches us that the Jaina answer to the question of inner absorption versus outer involvement is balance, often a paradoxical one. By going deeper into oneself, one discovers answers to universal mysteries and uncovers the source of wisdom which can be applied in all life's conflicts. This causes one to be sought out by more worldly persons who recognize the self-confidence and self-reliance evident as the rewards of the internal life. So the one who probes the inner world becomes the sage whose spontaneous vision reveals sound advice about the outer world.

Though these wise men cooperate with world's rulers, there is a reluctance on their part to give up the peace and quiet of solitude. Their first choice is to be with themselves, having conquered the desire to live a public life. They respond to the situation because they also are not attached to their privacy and silence.

It is this mental attitude of desirelessness that is most important in understanding the paradox, and also it is that which sheds light on the emphasis Jainism places on action or *cāritra*. The three jewels of Jaina thought are right belief, right knowledge and right conduct. By right belief or *samyagdārśana* is meant this attitude of desirelessness and a conviction that Self is pure and perfect. Our mission is to realize that perfection and for that we need knowledge, the second step. However this knowledge is not mere information about the world or even one's self; books on theology or psychology do not contain this knowledge. Rather "right" knowledge, *samyagjñāna*, arises from the experience of one's Self, the touch with that divinity which lies within each of us.

Then the third aspect, right conduct or *samyagcāritra*, follows logically and spontaneously. When one has the belief in divinity and perfection of soul and gains some real understanding or knowledge of it by meditation and being in touch with that divinity, then naturally he or she wants to share that experience, to help others to feel it and to perfect themselves more and more. For these reasons, the people adopt the spiritual practices, the disciplines, and adhere to the ethics laid down in the scriptures.

Thus the three in reality become one. Belief leads to knowledge and then to action. This again enhances belief and kindles the yearning for more experience and deeper knowledge. So more action is undertaken. Life becomes a comingling and balancing of outer expression and inner quest, of spiritual exploration and worldly declaration, of insight and outpouring. Indeed, these opposing terms lose their meaning as the oneness of the energy of life itself is experienced and refined.

Part II

Having looked at some historical precedents and specific examples of how others have satisfied the need to communicate with life and found a balance in living, we now can examine another dimension of the question. We can say that this is the inner dimension, the individual perspective. We each must make a personal decision—do we live in the world, assume responsibility in relationships of family and friends or do we give up this lifestyle in favor of the way of the recluse?

One way to view this predicament is to ask, "Is the pain of emotional involvement with others, and especially the loss of those dear to us—a son or daughter, a wife or companion, a mother or brother—greater than that of isolation and separation? Is giving up of home, family,

possessions and comforts once and for all more difficult than bearing the pain of worldly ties ?” We know these departures must occur and yet we are afraid and incapable, either because of circumstances or weakness, to break away and take the path to complete solitude and isolation. We are caught in the middle.

Approaching the dilemma from this point of view, we have discovered a basic tenet of Jaina philosophy, namely that life in the world is essentially painful, and the purpose of living is to free ourselves of this pain and reach enlightenment. Building upon this idea, the teaching develops a very complete code of ethics to guide aspirants on their journey to liberation. Various stages are described : as an embodied soul progresses, he or she becomes more and more independent of worldly bindings and ties. He moves from the commitment to family to the commitment of a monk, and then devotes himself to the perfection of consciousness through the perfection of the renunciate's vows. So the path leads to the life of the muni, away from the common pattern of family relations. Then why do we not adopt this path now ? If we know that this is the ultimate prescription of the sages and we want to reach that goal, what stands in the way of our immediate acceptance to this choice, these vows ?

The answer lies in this question of communication, the need for wholeness. As we seek to fulfill ourselves through relationships, our attachment for others arises and grows. It is this attachment which is the root cause of our pain (*dukha*). When we free from it, we are free from the pain of life.

The way in which this need blocks our progress is paradoxical, however. People and relationships distract us from ourselves, from finding wholeness and peace within. But if we go off alone before we are ready, we burn in the pain of attachment just the same ; we feel none of the calmness and joy that is the reward of saintly renunciation. So we cannot simply say either, “Renounce and be free” or “Find wholeness in living harmoniously with others in the world”.

One can answer, as Buddha did, that all pain results from attachment and desire, and so if we are mentally attached, we can expect pain, regardless of what lifestyle we adopt. This is a fact, an ultimate truth ; but until we experience it, it has little meaning. Thus pain is such a part of life as we know it and see it around us, this decision so challenging and profound, that it demands some further consideration. No quick easy answer will satisfy us. As the poet-philosopher Pascal wrote,

"The heart has its reasons which reason cannot define." Even Buddha lingered at the door of his home through the night of his departure hovering and deciding his final course.

When we analyze this need and trace it to its source, a question comes, "Is it rooted in our cells, a function of our bodily condition like the need for food, water, air ? How deep does it really go ? Is it part of our flesh ?" We can say that creatures have been known to live without it, unlike the other bodily demands mentioned, and yet it is closely linked to our emotions and the emotions are tied in with our cells, glands and hormones.

If we say this desire is "non-essential" to life itself, then how *do* we view it ? Is it to be regarded as a comfort, important to life but ultimately dispensable, like shelter and clothing ? Or should we say it is like those higher goals of truth, beauty, justice ? Is it an aesthetic value that becomes more and more refined as man develops ?

Mahavira taught that all life shares four basic drives in common--the drive for survival and protection of the body, for food, sleep and sex. The sexual impulse can be viewed as an expression of a need to realize wholeness, to fulfil and complete oneself through relationship. When this desire is sublimated, it seeks to reach out and touch through the arts--poetry, drama, painting, sculpture. Sometimes we think this is the experience of special people we call "artists", but who is an artist ? Is he not simply the one who feels this longing to communicate more intensely, the one who focusses his attention more exclusively on that aim ? His life takes on meaning because of his art, and that sets him apart from other men, but the same drive is found in all of us in varying degrees of intensity.

If we accept that this predicament is an inherent part of human existence, then perhaps we have been taking the wrong approach in looking at it as a barrier or obstacle. Maybe, we are asking the wrong question. Instead, let us ask what part the art of communication can play in our progress toward *mokṣa*, in freeing ourselves from the bondage of painful attachment.

The idea of communication is central to the Jaina theory of knowledge and the importance of knowledge in the soul's advancement and evolution. The most rudimentary form of knowledge is *mati jñāna*--knowledge acquired through the senses and mind, through direct and interaction between the gross, physical body and the environment. The next stage is *śruta jñāna*, knowledge acquired by inference, from

words, teaching, symbols. Here the mind is used to draw conclusions and think abstractly. The third type of knowledge is *avadhi jñāna*, telepathic or intuitive knowledge. This understanding comes directly without actual contact between the person and object observed. It can, in more highly developed souls, have a very wide-ranging field of perception. The fourth type is *manahparyāya jñāna*, knowledge of the contents of the mind of another. This is a more advanced stage and also indicates a more subtle, intimate and highly developed type of communication. It is direct and does not depend on actual proximity or contact between two souls.⁶

The fifth and final type of knowledge is *kevala*, perfect and complete knowledge. In the *kevala jñāna* state, a soul has direct and simultaneous comprehension of all objects. It is a stage beyond normal understanding, beyond words; it is an experience itself, which transcends the level of what we call mind.⁷

What is important is that this state is the ultimate mode of communication, it is pure and perfect clarity of understanding. There can be no mistake and there is nothing it cannot grasp. It is fullness, wholeness, oneness.

On this highest level, we can say that soul is really an emanation of energy. The Siddhas, those who have attained ultimate liberation from the body, exist as pure, sentient energy which is formless and yet does emanate outward through the universe (*loka*) from Siddhasila (the final abode of the soul.) We who are as yet embodied can attune to that energy and gain inspiration and upliftment for our journey. This is the purpose of the sanctified *mantras* and the teachings and teachers. All the practices help us tune our consciousness to that frequency which is absolutely pure and unobstructed. Therefore we can say, from one point of view, pure consciousness is really nothing but pure sentient energy communicating.

If the perfected souls are pure consciousness communicating, then all we see and feel around us is the expression of this same energy in

* Another point of interest in Jain teaching is that souls who have advanced themselves highly by practice of spiritual disciplines develop another body, called the *aharaka* body, which is said to issue forth from the center of the brow. It is useful in communication between *Srutakevalin* and *Kevalin* when the two are separated by a great distance.

⁷ Since finite mind cannot really comprehend such a condition, words are not adequate to describe it.

various forms or bodies. Jaina philosophy states that soul is intrinsically pure and perfect, but we do not realize that perfection because of *karmas* which adhere or stick to the soul, covering or clouding the pure consciousness and its expression. For this reason, errors or mistakes are made in receiving information and knowledge from the environment. For the same reason inappropriate, often harmful responses are made to information as it is received from the environment.

The forms and the way the energy expresses itself and is experienced by us depends on the degree of purity attained, the particular *karmas* which are blocking the individual soul from its ultimate pure condition. *Karmas* are then, from this point of view, those particles which inhibit hinder and distort communication between and among souls ; they are the "things" which block the pure flow of energy of life.

We feel a need or desire to communicate, a lack of wholeness that motivates our outreaching, according to those coverings which we are experiencing. For example, to the extent that we suffer *mohantiya karma*, our effort to communicate will be coloured by destructive emotions or *kasāvas*, by anger, pride, deceit and greed. Thus two people argue and quarrel rather than enjoying peace and soothing companionship. As our vision is obscured by *darśanāvaraṇīya karmas*, we may misunderstand or misinterpret the messages we receive, and our *jñānāvaraṇīya karmas* will block us from learning, from deeper comprehension of a given subject of knowledge. *Antarāya karmas* will inhibit our capacity to communicate and respond to others

The soul has always been in this contact or partnership with matter ; there was not a time when soul was pure and then it "fell" or somehow lost its purity. In fact, the story of evolution is that of soul's development and growth, its emergence from the grip of matter so that consciousness or sentient energy has more and more command over matter.

How does the soul acquire this control and how does it show itself ? The dominance of matter over soul is seen in desire. Attraction and repulsion are qualities of matter, not soul, which is by nature infinitely calm, peaceful, blissful and all-knowing. That is, pure consciousness is desireless and it feels desire only as it experiences its affiliation with *karmas* or matter. To overcome desire is therefore to free from the binding of *karmas* ; to practise equanimity in the midst of attraction and repulsion brings strength to the soul, and is the path to freedom.

The omniscient soul is the one who has completely conquered desire. Jainism teaches that such a soul is in its last birth, burning or dropping those final *karmas* of body (*nāma*), life duration (*āyus*), pleasure and pain experience (*vedanīya*), and family (*gotra*). Such a soul does not acquire new *karmas*. It does not further bind itself because the force of desire is absent and that is the sticking force.

Now we ask, if he has no desire, why does an enlightened soul communicate at all? And how does he? What is the nature of this communication? We can only speculate about such a topic, basing our surmises on scriptural descriptions and our experiences with highly enlightened teachers and saints. It seems that the Kevalin communicates more with his presence than with words. For example, Mahavira's last sermon was attended by birds and beasts of all kinds, and also devas, devis and humans of many different lands and languages. Yet all were able to understand his meaning and gain inspiration from the experience. If you have been in the company of a highly evolved person, you know how this can be so. It is the vibration of thought, the energy itself that penetrates most deeply and this is beyond the limits of language. Indeed at this highest level, communication is really an exchange of energy. And its highest purpose is to free us of karmic bondage, to "enlighten".

Here we discover one of the great paradoxes: the soul who has reached enlightenment or omniscience, the Kevalin, has no desire to communicate and yet he is the perfect communicator, the Tirthankara or bridge-builder, the ultimate teacher who is sought far and wide by those in search of wisdom. His knowledge is a clear radiant beacon, uncovered, uncoloured, unblocked by any personal need.

The Kevalin, because he has no desire to please or teach, no desire to speak or answer, desire at all, sees life precisely *as it is*, and he can communicate directly to each soul in the manner which will be most effective. His body is merely an instrument for conveying soul's energy which is pure knowledge. For this reason his light can remove the darkness of those who come near him, simply by being, provided the lesser soul is open and ready to receive the teaching.

Coming back to our initial question—the dilemma of going inward, being a recluse or living among people and being active in the world—from this point of view, it is natural that we ask, "What can anyone do for anyone else, after all?" If Jesus could not keep even twelve disciples faithful to him, what can any soul do to liberate or enlighten another? In other words, what can really be communicated?

Jaina teaching says that the teacher or any soul can only be an instrument or auxiliary cause in the removal of *karmas*. The individual soul must be ready to provide the energy or will to uncover itself. A teacher may encourage and inspire a student to make that effort, but the disciple must first open himself to the teaching and then undertake practices to implement it. Without this conviction and effort, there can be no real progress, no matter how evolved the teacher may be. Here the meaning of the three jewels of Jainism, right belief, right knowledge, and right conduct, becomes clear. The student must believe in himself and want to change : then the knowledge and experience of the teacher can enter his being and help him catch a glimpse of reality, his soul's nature. Finally this glimpse may inspire him to work or take action (*cāritra*) to remove his *karmas* and be free from binding.

The nature of the moment of *moksa* itself, the instant of absolute and final departure, reflects the way in which the need for communication, for touch, is part of all life. Though it does not occur with all souls, the final moment for many is called *samudghāta*. In that moment, just as the soul is leaving the body, it expands to touch each point of space in the universe. There is no desire, but all souls must make this contact before their journey is complete, and so any soul that has not yet touched each space point will expand to do so in the final instant. So up until the very last, the life is compelled or driven by some force to have a touch, to communicate in a way, with the universe.

This need to touch and to be in touch with other forms of life lies at the very root of our bondage. Our fear of separation, of flying free, our need and longing to be secure is a desire to hold, to grasp, to be in contact with matter of some kind. A baby feels secure and plays happily when placed on its stomach where it can feel the solid touch of earth and balance itself safely. It cries and flails its limbs in fright when placed on its back. Why do we fear falling ? Why do people who begin to meditate feel afraid when they experience a floating, "out-of-body" sensation ? Is it not because our security comes from the solid touch of matter ? And on a subtler level, this desire is the source of our contact with matter, the sticking of consciousness to *karmas*. As long as we have not conquered this fear of separation, we cannot be free.

Thus Jaina philosophy teaches us that we are all on a journey towards ultimate liberation, freedom from involvement with matter, from contact with *karmas*. Attraction and repulsion are the forces which drive us back and forth as we struggle to be free : they are the evidence of the influence of matter on soul and they display themselves as desires in

consciousness. As we free from the grip of desire, we liberate ourselves from the karmic particles.

One of the most basic desires is to share companionship with life in other forms, and one of the great paradoxes of living is that desire, which is the cause of our binding, becomes the means of our liberation. By experiencing, sharing and touching life, we learn and grow towards freedom.

The energy of soul expresses this need at a multitude of levels in its progress—first as a need for survival and security, then through sexual contact. As that is gratified, communication revolves around deeper emotional interactions, the drive for affection and/or power. As one refines consciousness, communication becomes more pure, a need for love, for intimate personal contact of a helping nature. Then one feels this same longing in a more and more universal sense, as the desire to express oneself creatively, artistically. Finally, all one's desires are sublimated to fuel the drive to grow free and to help others grow free. This is the stage of the teacher, the *guru*, and finally the Tirthankara.

How does one begin to make use of these ideas in everyday living, to experience more of this joy of freeing and giving here and now? That is the question for the real seeker, he or she who would go beyond mere information into the realm of realization. If life is a journey we travel alone to freedom, then how does one make one's way in the world to expedite the progress and harmonize with one's fellow-travelers?

The first step is to know this law of *karma* and soul, to have this understanding and to study the nature of bondage and freedom. This is one of the greatest pillars upon which Jaina philosophy stands; the mind is to be cultivated and trained to speed one's progress and the main food for the mind is the law of *karma*. No teaching develops this subject with as much precision and detail as Jainism. It is a demanding study which ultimately requires not only reading and research, but the counsel of a wise teacher and one's own experience of deep meditation.

This opens one's eyes to the world *as it is*, and it is this vision which characterizes the "seer". Then one finds that each embodied soul has its own point of view and each has validity, each has something to offer on any given subject or issue because each has this unique perspective. To recognize and appreciate that fact and then to expand one's own conception of reality by looking from these various angles is the essence of *anekāntavāda*, the principle of many-sidedness. Cultivating this

approach to viewing the world frees one from the petty attachment to old, habitual patterns of thinking, from concepts of "right and wrong", "good and bad", and opens the door to higher knowledge and ultimately omniscience, the state wherein all points of view are seen simultaneously.

Adopting the practice of this way of seeing others and accepting their opinions for what they are naturally leads to an attitude of non-attachment to things and ideas. Attraction and repulsion, those binding forces which limit and restrict us mentally, emotionally and physically naturally drop away. We begin to appreciate life and see its beauty and truth and we long to go farther in this appreciation. The feeling has its own reward—the experience of peace, contentment, wholeness and oneness with life. Our competitive nature binds and separates ; our cooperative side joins and liberates.

When the feeling of appreciation grows, and becomes deeper, reverence for life is born within us. Contemplating the miracle of each moment and each life that surrounds us, in whatever form, fills life with brilliance and lightness. The barriers disappear and the dichotomy, the apparent predicament of living alone versus living in the world, of isolation versus communication, dissolves, washed away on a wave of this light of insight, the experience of awareness and reverence for life. The feeling to help, to simplify living and demand less for oneself, to elevate the need to communicate and sublimate the desire for touch to the level of real spiritual communion destroys the old mental barriers that inhibit our free-flowing natural love of life itself. Life is now seen as one, whether it is pulsing within us, shining in the eyes of another we meet, or emanating from the purified masters. This is the key which Mahavira brought in his teaching of *ahimsā*, this is the starting point and the ultimate resolution in the path of the Jaina.

YOGA-TRIPLET

SUZUKO OHIRA

The word *yoga* ordinarily denotes the cessation of mental activities, but the Jainas use it in the technical sense of action committed by the media of mind-speech-body. And this *yoga*-triplet plays an important role in various fields of Jainism. For instance, it forms the so-called *trividham trividhena* along with *karana*-triplet. It constitutes the content of *gupti*. It is the basic cause of *asrava* in *karma* theory, and it is counted as one of the 14 *mārganāsthānas*. Beside all these, the concept of *upayoga* is surely involved with the concept of *yoga*, and even the series of atomic groups called sevenfold *varganās* is formulated centered around the triplet of mind-speech-body. Since *yoga*-triplet expresses merely the divisions of action, it could not develop itself more than a technical concept as such. However, it is important enough to note that it came to exert its capacity in the wide range of fields in Jainism. Then how did this concept of *yoga* come into being in the Jaina school? This question may deserve a study in order to understand how it came to attract the Jaina theoreticians in various subject fields, which is attempted in the following.

The later so-called *karana*-triplet, action committed by oneself, action committed by the other for his sake, and approval of the action committed by the other for his sake, makes its consistent appearance in the *Ācāra* I, wherein the later so-called *yoga*-triplet is marked by its absence. On the other hand the Buddhists considered *karma* or action in terms of three media of action by mind-speech-body, which makes its consistent appearance in the earliest Buddhist texts such as the *Suttanipāṭa*, *Dhammapada*, etc. The term *yoga* in this technical sense or the triplet of mind-speech-body minus naming it *yoga* starts to occur in the *Sūtrakṛta* I onwards, but the word *yoga* in non-technical sense frequently appear in the *Ācāra* I, *Sūtrakṛta* I, *Uttara* (early chapters) and *Daṣavaikālika* which belong to the earliest canonical stage in due sequence. And the Jaina concept of *ti viheṇaṃ karaṇa-joṇaṃ* makes its first appearance in its full-fledged form in explaining five *mahāvratas* along with *rātri-bhojana-viramaṇa* as the 6th vow in the *Daṣavaikālika* IV. And this chapter which deals with the 6th vow and is composed

in prose is considered to belong to a slightly later stage.¹ All this implies that the Jainas formulated this concept of *yoga*-triplet after the Buddhist classification of *karma* in connection with *kaṛaṇa*-triplet.

Mahavira promulgated that *anārambha* or non-violence to the six classes of beings is the pathway for liberation. And since his non-violence received from Parsva was based on the primitive animist position and *vaira* theory, any physical action committed by a being could not escape committing violence to the other visible or invisible beings. *Vaira* meaning anger, hostility, enmity, etc. is here understood as the principle of retribution that a victim emits at the slaughterer to return due revenge when violence is committed on him. Thus on the part of a convict, *vaira* is the very sin committed by himself.² Mahavira then proposed that the action committed without any intention of violence was free from guilt.³ At the same time he created a rule that a monk was responsible for his sinful action if it was directly committed by himself, if it was indirectly committed by the other for his sake, and if he approved the fact that it was indirectly committed by the other for his sake, for in these three cases he is the immediate agent of the intention of violence.

Since *vaira* is emitted by a victim when he is physically injured by a slaughterer, but not when there is the presence of mere intention of violence or verbal violence (speech was understood as material in the later canonical stage), it must have been considered that monk is responsible of his physical action committed by *karana*-triplet. Mahavira's rules of practice exemplified in the early Jain canon are therefore based on the prohibition of physical action harmful to the visible and invisible beings. However Mahavira clearly admitted that the presence of the intention of violence is the worst sin. Likewise he is described in the *Ācāra* 1.9 that he kept silence as far as possible, and he constantly taught his disciples to practise *śamiti*, *gupti*, *śamyama* and *śamvara* (which are used in the synonymous sense in the *Ācāra* I and *Sutrakṛta* I) to control themselves and their senses. This indicates that Mahavira himself never neglected the action committed by mind and speech. However, he did not obviously feel the need of expressing action by the three media as Buddha did.

¹ Dixit, K. K. "The Problems of Ethics and Karma Doctrine as Treated in the Bhagavati Sutra", in *Sambodhi* II-3, p.4

² Dixit, K. K. *Ibid.*, p.6

³ *Acara* I 5.4 301, *Sutrakṛta* 1.1.2 52, etc.

But soon the Jainas take up the problem of *bhāsā samiti* in the *Daśavaikālika* beside *esaṇā samiti* which is already dealt in the *Ācāra* I-*Sūtrakṛta* I to II certain extent. Then the topic of *vinaya* makes its appearance in the *Uttara* I and *Daśavaikālika* IX. And the *Ācāra* II takes up four *saṁitis*, i.e. *esaṇā*, *bhāsā*, *īryā* and *vyutsarga*, excluding *ādāna-nikṣepa samiti*. These *saṁitis* and *vinaya* which constitute the primary routine of monks' daily activities necessarily demand monks to be disciplined in their mental, vocal and bodily activities. Here it seems that the Jainas began to realize the convenience of expressing action by three divisions as the Buddhists used to do, and came to formulate *yoga*-triplet.

The word *yoga* in non-technical sense is employed in the following ways in the texts belonging to the earliest canonical stage. '*kāyam ca jogam ca īriyam ca*' in the *Ācāra* 1.8.7.436, '*āvānasoyam-ativāyasoyam jogam ca*' in its 9.1.476, '*āyata-jogayāe*' in its 9.4.516, '*āyata-jogam*' in its 9.4.522, '*urālam jagato jogam*' in the *Sūtrakṛta* 1.4.9.84, '*saṁāhi-jogehim*' in its 4.1.16, '*jhāna-jogam*' in its 8.26, '*jayayam viharāhi joguvam*' in its 2.1.99, and '*bhavanā-joga-suddha-ppā*' in its 15.5: '*saṁjamo-joga-santi*' in the *Uttara* XII.44, '*sāvajja-jogam*' in its XXI.13, etc.: '*acchāya joga*' in the *Daśavaikālika* VIII.3, '*jogam ca samaṇa-dhemananmi*' in its VIII.43, '*giha-joga*' in its VIII.21, '*saṁjama-jogam ca sajjhāva-jogam ca*' in its VIII.62, etc.

The word *yoga* above is employed in the sense of "endeavour" or "effort" as in the case of the early Buddhist usage collected in the *Pali English Dictionary*. Then, when mental-vocal-bodily activities were formulated as the content of *yoga*, the word *yoga* must have meant a soul's endeavour or effort expressed by these three media of action. The Buddhists considered that an agent's *cetanā* is expressed by these three media of action. The Jainas thus followed the Buddhists in formulating the concept of *yoga*. This Buddhist concept that *karma* or action is the expression of *cetanā* is said to be implied in Buddha's 12 interdependent originations wherein *cetanā* is placed before *naṁa-rūpa* (i.e. the objects of *cetanā*) derived by *āyatana* (i.e. six senses) which is placed after *nāma-rūpa*. But the earliest arguments that the vocal and bodily activities are also originated in the agent's *cetanā* as in the case of mental activity, therefore mental activity weighs most important among the three against the Jainas who weigh bodily activity most heavily, are said to occur in the *Madhyama Nikāya* 56, 111 and 136.⁴

⁴ Funahashi, Issai: *Go no Kenkyū (A Study of Karman)*, pp.32 ff.

It is difficult to ascertain the age of these texts in the *Madhyama Nikāya*. However, from the facts that the word *yoga* in both non-technical sense and technical sense occurs in the *Daśavaikālika*, and that the full-fledged exposition of *vratas* by *yoga*-triplet and *karana*-triplet in proper way occurs for the first time in the *Daśavaikālika* IV, it is safer to conclude that the concept of *yoga* was formulated by the time of *Daśavaikālika* IV. *Yoga*-triplet must have been thus established in connection with *karana*-triplet in order to express the range of a monk's responsible action.

And even when the Jainas formulated *yoga*-triplet, they continued to weigh physical action most heavily as the Buddhists criticized, because the Jaina way of non-violence was primarily based on the primitive theory of *vaira*. This attitude of the Jainas underwent a revolutionary change in theory when the *karma* doctrine developed in the later days, because the action of violence was here reduced to be a partial cause in attracting the eightfold main types of *karma*. These threefold activities of *yoga* then came to express themselves with equal weight as the basic cause of *āsrava*, for the moment mental action or vocal action is committed, it is supposed to attract *karma* matter as in the case of bodily action. This shows that the Jainas finally sloughed off the primitive belief in *vaira* theory. The pathway for salvation is here advocated by the removal of *karma* from the soul in the place of the old position that non-violence constitutes the sole path way for liberation. The practice of *dharma*, *anuprekṣā* and *dhyāna* occurred in the late canonical stage may also evince the due weight given for the mental and vocal activities.

Yoga-triplet conveniently expresses the totality of action expressed by the three media of a being. Therefore once it was formulated, it came to be used independently in various fields, particularly in the field of *karma* doctrine as mentioned just now and in the field of ethics wherein action plays the main role. Thus the triplet of mind-speech-body became the content of *gupti*, which however seems to have occurred in the considerably late canonical age. Because the *Sūtrakṛta* II.2.662 relevant to *īryāpatha kṛiṣā*, which is the concept formulated in the late canonical age in the context of *karma* theory, thereby this treatment here is the later interpolation, enumerates mind-speech-body as the content of both *saṃiti* and *gupti*, beside listing the formal content of *saṃiti*. A similar treatment of the content of *saṃiti* and *gupti* occurs in the *Bhagavatī* II.1.91 which also belongs to the late canonical period. All the five *saṃitis* do not occur yet in the four old *Cheḍasūtras* (i.e. *Bṛhatkalpa*, *Vyavahāra*, *Daśā* and *Niṣṭha*) and the *Ācāra* II. Thus it took

some time for *gūpti* to be separated from *samiti* after the content of *samiti* was established.

The classification of mind-speech-body developed meanwhile in the field of ethics (mind-speech) and in the field of *jīva* (body). And this came to be a convenient *anuyogadvāra* to be posed on each class of the beings to find their behaviours and characteristics, which is precisely so found in the *Prajñāpanā* XVI called "*Prayogapada*". *Yoga* came to be thus included in the list of 14 *mārganāsthānas* in the *Satkhaṇḍāgama*.

As we have mentioned already, *yoga* is the soul's endeavour or effort expressed by the activities of threefold media that are of material composition. *Upayoga* (*upa* is an affix meaning direction towards) must be the soul's conscious and unconscious source that is directed towards or transformed into the form of endeavour or effort. And when this endeavour or effort takes place, the external sense data are received by a soul through the activities of these three media that constitute six senses in the field of cognition of the external world.⁶ And when this endeavour or effort takes place, the soul's conscious and unconscious content including will, cognition, instinct, emotion, etc., is expressed through the three media of action in the field of expression of the internal world. In the case of a liberated soul, who is free from the physical entity thereby without *yoga*, *upayoga* consists of *ananta jñāna-darsana*. But in the case of an embodied soul, *upayoga* consists of conscious and unconscious content, which therefore functions as the source of cognition of the external world as well as the expression of the internal world. *Upayoga* is identified with *jñāna-darsana* in the canonical texts, for instance in the *Prajñāpanā* XXIX, possibly because this is the common feature in both liberated and embodied souls, and it is the most distinct feature of the soul.

When the system of *pudgala* developed, the Jainas came to consider that *pudgala* consists of 7 *vargaṇās*, i.e., 1) atom, 2) gross body, etc., 3) speech, 4) fiery body, 5) respiration, 6) mind, and 7) *karma*. All these *vargaṇās* consist of atoms by different number thereby differing in their density. Excluding the case of respiration and atom itself, the rest of the *vargaṇās* consist of mind-speech-body. When the functions of mind, speech and body in various types were postulated, the Jainas must have come to realize that their material constitutions should differ one from the other. And by adding to them respiration which has

⁶ See *Tattvarthasūtra* II,19

different function from the rest thereby endowed with different constitution, the Jainas must have established this series of atomic groups, of which speech, respiration and *karma* behave in a similar way by being attracted to the body and ejected from the body constantly.

Yoga-triplet primarily expresses the division of action of a being. It is thus an important concept in the theory of *kriyā*. And *kriyā* is the root cause upon which the ethical principles and doctrinal theories of the Jainas were developed. It is therefore not surprising that the Jaina theoreticians tried to use this *yoga*-triplet in various fields. At the same time we should realize that this way of applying one concept or its content to all sorts of fields was a peculiar and habitual tendency of the Jaina theoreticians in the canonical age.

SATRUNJAYA IN HEART

There are times when we may be outright charmed by a splendour of imagination or a fragrant flower of artistry or poetic expression that is as pretty as a pearl or morning dew. Thus, some time ago I have received a letter from Mrs. Clare Rosenfield from Hartsdale, New York, which contains a poem, a thought-provoking composition with sketches as if reproduced from dreamland. Mrs. Rosenfield's adopted name is 'Brahmi' who was the saintly daughter of Rsabha, the first Tirthankara. The poem describes the journey of a little boy and his sister to the peak of a mountain where a hermit shows them the way of light and eternity yearned after by even flowers and creepers with their freedom under the blue sky. Srimati Brahmi has stated in her letter that the story and illustrations she made for her children "with Satrunjaya in heart". The poem is no doubt an allegory with its gentle murmurs and a deep resonance in a lonely landscape of feelings where the horizon stretches towards the radiant infinite.

—*Editor*



Once upon a time
In the land of
far-off India
there was a very special mountain

Its peaks plunged
into the clear blueness of the
infinite vastness we call sky

Its roots nestled in the
hearts and homes of the villagers
who daily stood in wonder
before their gentle serene friend
the mountain
Old and young alike longed to climb
to the height
to meet there
what

they knew not
yet felt to be all goodness
all beauty
all rightness

Now there lived in that village
a family
in which a brother and sister
were best of friends
together they cherished a secret longing

To climb to the top of yon mountain
but their mother and father said 'no
'you are too young'
'you are not ready'
'you must be strong to go there'
'What must be at the top?'
thought the children
day after day
'Let us go and see for ourselves'
they resolved
and early one morning
before the dawn had kissed the hills
and vales and rooftops
with her sweetness and light
the two brave souls
brother and sister
set off on their search
their journey

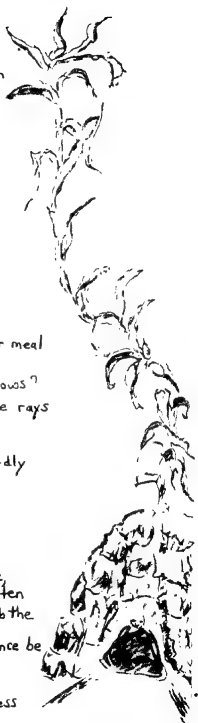


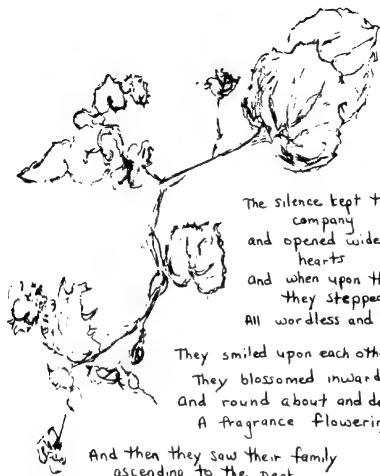
Just as they reached the foothills
of the mountain
a friend of their family caught sight of them
on her way to market
to sell coconuts
'Where are you going, young ones?'
she called out to them
'To the top of yon mountain'
they answered
'Where be your elders, my children?'
she asked
'At home, they don't know that we're here'
they told her all honestly
why they were going
'We long to ascend to the peak'
'So' said the woman, 'At least I shall know
where you've gone
and I'll inform your parents for you'
'Our thanks to you, friend' the children
expressed, 'For now our parents
won't worry...'

And off they scampered light-hearted
intense
eager to be
on their way



Halfway point they came upon
and met fatigue and thirst
but would not stop
or turn around
so set were they upon
the goal
When to their surprise
before their eyes
a cave
a plant
a man
with smile serene
he beckoned them
to share his meager meal
Then he pointed to the plant
and said 'See how it grows?'
It follows fast upon the rays
of radiance
of light
It listens closely inwardly
to love of truth
of light
That is its path
its goal
its secret
And you will do the same,
So right you are to listen
to your quest to climb the
peak,
So let your climb in silence be
and feel your heart
grow light
Open to the wondrousness
awaiting you above.





The silence kept them
company
and opened wide their
hearts
and when upon the peak
they stepped
All wordless and in bliss

They smiled upon each other's eyes
They blossomed inwardly
And round about and deep within
A fragrance flowering

And then they saw their family
ascending to the peak
and all embraced in unity
received the blessed gift

What was the gift, the peak's
own gift?

All-friendship flowers fusion
The freshest feeling
Life itself

Love's Immortal Stream
They poured this Love upon their friends
and universe was blessed
And all did dwell in happiness
in oneness ecstasy

The Woman and Tree Motif Salabhanjika-Dalamalika in Prakrit and Sanskrit Texts with Special Reference to Silpasastras including Notes on Dohada and related Jaina Texts

GUSTAV ROTH

On the faces of temples in Bhuvanesvara, Konaraka and elsewhere a motif is depicted very frequently, which appeared to me as a garland in its whole composition : a woman under a tree, raising her arm and bending down its branch. The movement of the figure with the pronounced curve of the right hip,¹ the small waist, the movement continued by the raised arm, which flows into the branch of a tree, like a creeper, produces in line with the tree, the appearance of a garland as a whole.² The question may be asked about the designation given to these art-motifs by the craftsmen of ancient times.

The earliest inscribed pieces of this motif appear in Bharhut, belonging to the Sunga period, its approximate date being first century B.C. The originals can be studied in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. There are three 'woman and tree motifs' attached to the pillars of the stone-railings, one inscribed as *Culakoka Devata*, standing on an elephant the second inscribed as *Canda Yakṣi*, standing on a fish-tailed sheep, the third, whose inscription only mentions the name of the donor, stands on a horse. They are thus denoted as belonging to the class of minor deities. But no other specific term appears in these inscriptions. The same negative result is obtained regarding the 'woman and tree motif' in Sanci and Mathura.

J. Ph. Vogel has already dealt with this subject in his interesting article : 'The Woman and Tree or Salabhanjika in Indian Literature and Art.'³ In his article this motif is denoted as *Salabhanjika*. His interpretation is mainly based on the 53rd story of the *Avadānatataka*,⁴ in which a flower festival, called *Salabhanjika*, celebrated at Sravasti in the Jetavana garden donated to Buddha by Anathapindaka, is mentioned. A girl, beholding Lord Buddha, bestrewed him with Sala-blossoms. Later she

climbed a Sala-tree 'to fetch other flowers for home', fell down from the tree and died. But as reward for her homage paid to the Lord, she was reborn among the gracious thirty-three gods. Vogel comes to the following conclusion : 'The etymological meaning of the compound indicating the Sala tree, known to botanists under the appellation of *Vatica Robusta*, while the second member is derived from the verbal root *bhanj* or *bhaj* --to break (op. cit., p. 204) He rejects its interpretation given in the lexicons as a statue of wood,⁵ and says on the basis of other textual evidence that the material used is generally stone and not wood.

But Vogel himself has to admit that in art the trees, under which these figures are placed, do not always appear to be Sala trees exclusively (op. cit., p. 206) On the contrary, there are many examples of the 'woman and tree motif' in which the Asoka-tree is depicted as well. The following is a list of *Salabhanjika* passages, already quoted in Vogel's article :

(1) *Kāśikā* to *Pāṇini* VI. 2. 74 : *uddalakapuspabhanjika*, *viranapuspa-pracayika*, *salabhanjika*, *talabhanjika* explaining *pracam kṛdayam* (quoted from *Pāṇini's Grammar*, her uuebers von O. Boehtlingk, 2. Auflage, Leipzig, 1887, p. 320). I would like to add : *Pāṇini* III. 3. 109' *saṃjñayam*. *Kāśikā* : *uddalakapuspabhanjika*, *salabhanjika*, *talabhanjika* (op. cit., p. 125) The scholiast quoted in Boehlingk's older edition of *Pāṇini's grammar*,⁶ offers a different text to the last mentioned passage and contains a variant reading to *salabhanjika* : *dhatornvul syat saṃjñayam*, *uddalakapuspaṇi bhajyante syam itū uddalakapuspabhanjika*, *māla-bhanjika*. About views on the text of the *Kāśikā*, the authors of which flourished in the seventh century A.D., reference may be made to Paul Thieme's Review of T. Burrow's book *The Sanskrit Language* (London, Faber and Faber, 1955) in the U.S.A. periodical, *Language*, Vol. 31, No. 3 July-September, 1955, P. 430.⁷

V. S. Agarwala quotes in his book, *India as known to Pāṇini* (University of Lucknow 1953), a passage from *Vatsyayana's Kāmasūtra* referring to *desya kṛdaya* on p. 166 as follows : *sahakara-bhanjika* ... *puspa-vacchayika* *chutabhanjika*, *damanabhanjika* *iksubhaksika*⁸ etc. On page 159 Agarwala also refers to Vogel's article. I could not trace the term *salabhanjika* in the *Kāmasūtra*. But taking note of the above mentioned passages with terms similar to *salabhanjika*, I accept Vogel's statement :

'Although no accounts of these games are available, the compounds by which they are indicated clearly show that in each instance the essential thing is the plucking of flowers. It is interesting that these games are said

to be peculiar to Eastern India, as this tallies with the mention of the salabhanjika festival in Buddhist literature. (op. cit. pp. 203, 204)

(2) Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* V. 52, quoted by Vogel from Cowels edition, p. 42 :

'avalambya gavaksaparsvam anya sayita capavibhugnatrayastih viraraja vilambicaruhara racita toranasalabhanjikeva.'

Vogel translates : 'Another leaning on the side of a window, with her willow form bent like a bow, shone as she lay with her beautiful necklace hanging down, like a statue in an archway made by art'. (op. cit., p. 208)

He notes that the MS reads torana-mala instead, whereas 'sala' is an emendation by Prof. Cowel himself. Vogel is in favour of Cowel's emendation. Often sala is written as sala. It is therefore very tempting to adopt Cowel's emendation, especially in view of how often s and m are taken for each other. Further passages quoted by me from Jaina AMg texts confirm the term torana-salabhanjika. (cf. p. 154 of my article)

(3) Bana's *Harṣacarita*, Bombay, 1897, p. 125, 11.21 ff. : visramyanti salabhanjikeva samipa-gata-stambha-bhūtisv alaksyata

(4) The same text : pratibudhyamanayas ca candia-salika-salabhanjika-parijano jayasabdham asakrd ajanayat. (op.cit., p. 127, 1.10 ; Engl. transl., p. 108)

(5) The same text : karatala-prahara-prahata-payodhara ruruduh prasabham sabha-salabhanjikaḥ (op.cit. 201, 1.1 ; Engl. transl., p. 195)

(6) The same text : viddhū mam . . . subhata-bhuja-jaya-stambha-vilasa-salabhanjikam . . . sriyam. (op.cit., p. 115, 1.2 ; transl., pp. 71ff.)

(7) Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, ed. M.A. Stein, Bombay, 1892, p. 19 :

alola-kirti-kallola-dugula-vilanojjvalam
babhara yad-bhuja-stambho jaya sri-salabhanjikam

(Gloss, salabhanjikam puttalikam) *Raj.* II, 64.

(8) Bana's *Kādambarī*: utkirna-salabhanjika-nivahena samnihita-grhadevatenevagandhasalilaksalitenā kaladhautamayena stambhasamcayena virajamanam.... aathanamandapam.

(9) Somadevabhāṭṭa's *Kathāvarṇasāgara*, ed. by Pt. Durgaprasad and Kasinath Pandurang Parab, Bombay, 1889, pp. 656 ff. tra. 121, verses 72-186. Here the story of the gambler Tīnthakarala is mentioned in which appears tatsalabhanjika-rupadharini and a synonym of sala-bhanjika in devagrha-stambhagra-putrika.

(10) Kathas., tar. 123, verses 126-141, narrates the love of King Vikramaditya, the great monarch of Ujjayini, for the Princess Kalingsena of Kalinga. Stambhaputrika is mentioned here synonymously along with salabhanjika.

(11) A story in the *Kathākośa* (or Treasury of Stories, transl. by C. H. Tawney, London, 1895), pp. 149, referred to by Vogel mentions Prince Amaradatta who sees a very beautiful statue in a temple standing in a garden outside Pataliputra with the consequence that 'he was afflicted with the arrows of Cupid, and was unable to move a step from the spot'. This image was supposed to be the work of the architect Suradeva from Sopara, who had copied it from Ratnamanjari, the daughter of King Mahasena of Ujjayani.

But from this translated passage, it is uncertain if a salabhanjika statue is referred to here. I would rather prefer to think of a statue like the Cauri-bearer, Didarganj, now in the entrance hall of the Patna Museum.

(12) *Simhāsanadvātrimśikā* (Albrecht Weber, 'Ueber die Simhasanadvātrimśika', Ind. Stud., Vol. XV, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 185-453) mentions a throne decorated with thirty-two female images of gold presented by Indra to Vikramaditya who had decided a dispute between the Apsarases Urvasi and Rambha in favour of Urvasi. The thirty-two female figures are alternatively designated as salabhanjika, putrika and puttaliṅka.

(13) The play *Prabodhacandrodaya* by Kṛṣṇamīśra (c. eleventh century A.D.). In the second act of this play Mithyadrsti is called by King Mahamoha. When she asked for what reason she had been called, he replies : priye smaryate sa hi vāmoru yo bhaved dhrdayad bahūh mac-citta-bhūttau bhavati salabhanjiva rajate.

'Here again the simile of the salabhanjika is used on account of its inseparability from the object on which it is carved.' (Vogel, op. cit., p. 216)

These are the salabhanjika-references collected by Vogel from Sanskrit works. Most of them belong to an earlier period of about seventh century A.D. to eleventh century A.D.

(14) Salabhanjika is also mentioned in Rajasekhara's drama *Viddha-sālabhañjikā* (ninth century A.D.)⁹. In the first act after verse 37 we read : Vidusakah (stambhe salabhanjikam vlokya) : iyam pi sa jjeva. In the second act we find following interesting observation of Vidusaka on the heroine of the play just after verse 19 : sivin' ava (anu) dittha **dolana-dolini ca viddha sancarida-salabhanjiattanena tthal' antare parinada gendua-khelini kaa-kavva-bandha-raana sa jjeva esa tue alak-khida tuha cittam akkhivadi.**

Translation : 'The girl perceived in a dream is swinging in a swing, in another place she appears transformed into the pose of a branch bending lady pierced and transportable as well, she is playing at ball, she is composing poetry, she is that captures your mind gazed at by you.'

Two paintings which appear like a free illustration of this passage are housed in the National Museum, Rastrapati-Bhavan, New Delhi, registered under (1) No. 56.48-4A and 4B and (2) No. 56.48-3A and 3B (Figs. 7a-7d).

A survey of these references clearly shows that the term salabhanjika is frequently mentioned in connection with stambha (pillar) and bhitti (wall).

But there is not one example among the salabhanjika references, quoted in Vogel's article, which contains a clear description of what a salabhanjika looks like.

Neither the abundant occurrences of salabhanjiya in Prakrit works of the Jaina Svetambara canon nor the passages in the Skt. Silpasastras and Vastusastras have been dealt with in his article.

The Jaina Svetambara text *Rāyapasenaijja* (abbrev. Ray) the 2nd Uvanga in the canon, contains a detailed description of a salabhanjia in Ray., pp. 164-166 (edition of Pt. Becaradas Jivraj Dosi, samv. 1894). The passage reads :

tesī nam daranam ubhao pase duhao nīsihiyae solasa solasa sala-
bhanjiaparivadio pannattaō, tao nam salabhanjiyao¹⁰ līlatthiyao supaitt-
hiyao sualamkriyao nanaviha-ṛaya-vasanaō nanamalla-pinaddhao mutthi-
gijjha-su-majjhao amelaga-jamala-juṇḍa-vattīya-abbhunnaya-pina-ṛaiya-
samthiya-pivara-paoharaō rattavangao aṛiya-kesiō miu-visaya-pasattha-
lakkhana-samvelliṇ' aggasirayosiṃsa s o y a-ṛaya-payava-samutthiyao
v a m a - h a t t h a - g g a h i y ' a g g a - s a l a o i s i m a d d h ' a c c h i - k a d a -
kkha-citthienam¹¹ lusamanio viva cakkhulloyana-leṣelu ya anna-m-anm
khiṇḍamanio viva pudhavi-parinamaō saṛaya-bhavam uvagayao candana-
naō canda-vilasiniō cand' addha-sama-nidalaō candahiya-soma-damsa-
naō ukka viva upvemaṇo vijju-ghana-miriya-sura-dippanta-teya-
ahiyyara-sannikasao singaragara-caru-vesao paṣāyao java citthanti.

This is how I would translate the passage : 'On both sides of each of the doors, on the double flankers,¹² rows of 16 branch bending females on each side are arranged ; well supported these branch bending females stand sportively, well adorned, with dresses of different colours, covered with different garlands ; they have beautiful waists, which can be grasped by the length of a hand's grip, and breasts which are plump, fashioned, swollen, raised and round like a couple of diadems worn on top of the head, who have impassioned sideglances and dark hair, their hair is covered at the top with tender, spotless, auspicious symbols

'Their bodies are leisurely inclined against Asoka-trees and they seize the prominent parts of the branches with the left hand.¹³ (Fig. 3, branch of an Asoka-tree with its flower and see Figs. 1 and 5a-5c)

'They, who seem to captivate (the senses of gods and men) with the gestures of their sideglances, having turned their eyes aside, and who seem to exhaust themselves on account of embraces with their looks, whose features resemble the maturity of the earth, who have entered into eternal existence who have faces like the moon, they, who are shining like a moon, who have foreheads like a half-moon with an appearance even more pleasing than that of the moon, they, who are shining like a meteor, with a splendour even more than the shining glow of the sun and the light-particles of the lightning clouds, whose dresses are beautiful, because they are like an abode of ornaments, they, who are gracious . . . till . . . stand.'

This passage clearly refers to the Asoka-tree against which the salabhanjias are inclined, and not to Sala-tree. But of even greater importance for the interpretation appears to me the description of the characteristic pose of a salabhanjia: vama-hattha-ggahiya' agga-s a l a o,¹⁴ 'by

whom the prominent parts of the branches are seized with the left hand'. Salao'branches' at the end of the Prakritic compound has been clearly brought to bear upon sala-bhanja!

It is evident from this that sala in the sense of Sala-tree has become obsolete with regard to the term salabhanja in the Ardhamagadhi text (AMg.) and that the first member of this compound is understood now in the sense of 'branch'. I would therefore suggest the following verbal translation of the term salabhanja : 'carving of a female bending down the branch of a tree'.

Vogel refers to the synonymous term salaśtri (op. cit. p. 207) occurring in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* II, 83-84 : salaśtribhir alamkṛtāḥ and translates 'The woman of the Sala-tree'. The meaning however obtained from the description of a salabhanja in the above mentioned AMg. passages makes the translation 'woman with the branch of a tree' more likely. This interpretation does not exclude the possibility that authors might have had also in mind Sala-tree, when mentioning our term.

A question here might well be asked regarding the age of our term. An indication for its considerable antiquity lies in the fact that this term appears in several places of the Jaina Svetāmbara canon in an archaic type of a metre, called Vedha, which leads us, according to Herrmann Jacobi's investigations, up to the first century B.C.¹⁴

Let me quote the following examples : anega-khambha-saya-sam-nivṛttham hla-ithiya-salabhanjiyayam (Ray., op. cit., p. 76),¹⁵ which represents two Vedhas of four ganas each :

U—U | —UU | U—U | — — | — — | UU— | U—U | — — | |

These two Vedhas are placed in a Varnaka (description) of a yanavimāna, which Suriyabha wants to be conjured up immediately, beginning with khuppaṃ eva bho devaṇu and ending with siggha-gamanam nama janavimanam¹⁶ viuvvaḥ.

Translation of the two Vedhas : '(The self moving car), which is placed on several hundred pillars and where the branch bending girls stand in a sportive pose.'

Another passage reads with reference to a maham piccha-gharayaṃ¹⁷ (a big entertainment pavilion) in the middle of a jana-vima-

nam as follows : abbhuggaya-sukaya-vara-verya-torana-vara-raiya-salabhanjiyayam. (Ray., op. cit., p. 94)

This Vedha, as printed in the edition of Pt. Becardas, appears to be disturbed from the point of view of this metre. I therefore would suggest, instead the following reading : abbhuggaya-va (ya)ra¹⁸-veiya-sukaya-torana-vara-raiya-salabhanjiyayam (Vedha of nine ganas).

— — | UUUU | U—U | —UU | U—U | UUUU | UU— | U—U | — — ||

Translation : '(An entertainment pavilion) with high vajra railings well constructed gateways, and branch bending women most artistically arranged (on them, i.e. on the gateways).'

The last part of the Vedha torana-vara-raiya-salabhanjiyayam with raiya=Skt. racita reminds us at once of similar expression in Asva-ghosa's *Buddhacarita* V.52 at the end racita toranasalabhanjikeva quoted by me on p. 149 of this article. Our AMg. passage confirms Cowel's genius in emending mala into sala in the *Buddhacarita* passage.

In the varnakas referring to description of the gates of the following Vedha is included : nana-mani-rayana-vala-ruvaya-lilatthiya-salabhanjiyaya*. (Ray., op. cit. p. 159)

Translation : '(The gates were decorated) with different precious stones, silver, and carvings of leogriffs and branch bending women in a sportive pose.'

The frequent occurrences of the term salabhanjia in the archaic Vedha metre of AMg. texts permits us to attribute to it a considerable degree of antiquity, which may take us to the last two centuries of the pre-Christian era.

In this context turning back to *Pāṇini*, VI, 2, 74 : pracam kridayam and to the explaining *Kāṣikā* : uddalaka-puspabhanjika, viranapuspaprayika, salabhanjika, talabhanjika.

Thieme's remarks : 'There is no likelihood whatever that the authors of the *Kāṣikā* (seventh century A.D.) knew more than Katyayana or Patanjali', (quoted by me, Note 7), is not applicable here, as the text of Patanjali does not contain any of the above mentioned terms of the *Kāṣikā* with the exception of puspabhanjika, occurring in the *Mahābhāṣya*.¹⁹



*Queen Maya holding a branch of the Sala tree
in Lumbini forest on the eve of the birth of
Gautama Buddha.*

*Polychrome painting
Nepalese book cover 11th century A. D*

In view of our reference material on salabhanjia, it seems to me likely that Panini himself could have had in mind some of the terms mentioned in the *Kāṭikā* with regard to games in Eastern India.

There are more passages in Ray., in which salabhanjia is also mentioned along with vala-ruvaya. Vala (Skt. vyala) may be understood here as 'leogriff', which is very frequently depicted on facades of temples beside salabhanjikas, e.g. in Khajuraho (cf. note 28). I am not certain about the meaning of vala.

One day Suriyabha goes to a temple (Siddhayatana) to worship the Jina images (Ray., op.cit., pp 254ff.). He reaches the centre of the temple and pays respects to the centre : *siddhayatanassa bahu-majjha-desabhayam loma hatthenam pamajjai*. S. continues to go to the southern gate to pay his respects in the following way : *dara-cedio²⁰ ya salabhanjiyao ya valaruvae ya lomahatthaenam pamajjai*. (Ray., op. cit., p. 259)

Translation : 'He passed his whisk over the carvings of female gatekeepers, branch bending women, and the figures of leogriffs.' (?)

I had often the opportunity to watch this habit of worship in the Jaina temples of India, which clearly shows that the figures of salabhanjias, daracedis, etc., are not intended to fulfil a decorative purpose only but that they are fully included in the act of worship in line with the Jina images. So we read for instance : *lomahatthayam ginhai ginhitta jina padimanam lomahatthaenam pamajjai*. (Ray., op. cit., p. 254)

Translation : 'He (Suriyabha) takes a whisk and passes it over the Jina images.'

We learn from this that the temple as a whole with Jina images, along with the carvings of branch bending women, female doorkeepers and other decorative motifs is conceived as a complete unit in the act of worship. For further references of daracedio, salabhanjiyao and vararuvae in a muha-mandava = front pavilion See. Ray., op. cit., p. 260. And also compare passages in Ray., op. cit., p. 262 : *torane ya ti-sovanapadiruvae salabhanjiyao ya vala-ruvae ya loma-hatthaenam pamajjai*.²¹ Translation : 'He passes with his whisk over the gateways, beautiful with their three steps, over the branch bending women and the figures of leogriffs.' (?)

The far more frequent occurrence of the term salabhanjia in the Jaina-Ardhamagadhi (abbrev. AMg.) texts than in any other branch of

ancient Indian literature, leads us to the conclusion that the Ardhamagadhi sphere of East India is the homeplace of salabhanjia in the wider sense of its original meaning, namely : carving of a woman bending down the branch of a tree.²² This is corroborated by what we have learned from the *Kāśikā* to *Pāṇini* VI, 2, 74 with regard to the designations of games in Eastern India!

Vogel, referring to the figures of females seizing the branch of a blossoming tree, especially frequent on the railing pillars of Mathura, raises the question 'May we not assume that to these pillar-figures the term salabhanjika was applied?' (op. cit., p. 206) With the abundant reference material on salabhanjia obtainable from canonical Jaina AMg. texts, I would not hesitate to answer in the full affirmative especially with regard to the images which are connected with the famous Jaina Stupa at Kankali Tila. The meaning of salabhanjia obtained from the AMg. literature justifies us to apply this term to these woman-tree carvings irrespective if the woman is depicted seizing the branch of a Sala-tree, an Asoka-tree, or another tree.

Summing up our subject, the following historical development of the term salabhanjia appears to be evident now. Originally salabhanjika denoted an auspicious game in Eastern India recorded in the *Kāśikā* to *Pāṇini* VI, 2, 74 along with the other terms uddulakapuspabhanjika viranapusapracayika and talabhanjika and salabhanjika mentioned alone as a game in the 53rd story of the *Avadānaśataka*, referred to by Vogel at the beginning of his article.

That we will have to presume as the background of these games seems to be indicated by the well-known story of the future Buddha's birth in the Lumbini Grove near Kapilavatthu, mentioned in the *Nidānakātha* of the Jatakas. According to this tradition Maya expressed her wish to play a Sala-Grove game (salavanakilam kilitukamata) on the way to her native place Devadaha. She went to a Sala-tree intending to get hold of one of its branches. The branch bent down itself. Maya stretched out her hand and took hold of it, after which the labour pains came upon her. The attendants drew a screen²³ around Maya and retired.²⁴

It is most significant that Maya standing in this pose, which is familiar to us as the pose of a salabhanjia, delivers her child.

This seems to me evidence enough that the salabhanjia game, played when the Sala-trees were in their full blossoming time, was interwoven

with the desires and hopes of young women to have children, as pure, beautiful and gay as the blossoms of the Sala tree. From the point of view of her own fertility, it must have been considered as very auspicious for a young woman to catch hold of the branch of such a tree, which stands in the full splendour of its blossoms. It is interesting to note in this context that the Sala-tree is called an auspicious one (*mangala-sala-vanam* and *mangala-sala mulam*) in the text of the *Nidānakathā*.

Once I was invited to a children's garden-party at my neighbour's house in Patna. It happened soon after Christmas and the occasion was the birthday of his second eldest daughter. This is the season when Patna earns its reputation as *kusumapura*—'town of flowers' and people there compete among themselves to have the most beautiful flowers in their gardens. The children started various games, in which I was myself involved. In one game I saw several children chasing a girl and trying to catch her till she reached a tree and touched its trunk. Immediately the others gave up chasing her, the girl advanced a little, bent one of its branches and looked around with so much joy over her little triumph in her eyes that I could not help but think of the *salabhanjika* pose! Probably in order to crown her victory she plucked a blossom from the branch and fixed it in her hair. Playfully she clapped her hands and forgot to hold the branch of the tree. This became a signal for her playmates to surround her and to carry her away as a prisoner. In this game the tree renders protection to those who touch it.

When I enquired about the name of this game, no *salabhanjika* turned out. The children simply called this game *coriya nuki**. This incident made it clear to me how the *salabhanjika* pose in Indian sculpture could have only come into existence. Artists of Ancient India must have watched and studied the graceful poses of young women when plucking flowers in their *salabhanjika* or *uddalakapusabhanjika* games, and, enthusiastic about it, transformed it into the fixed artistic pose of a female seizing the branch of a tree.²⁵

We have learned from our Prakrit sources that the term *salabhanjika* was applied to carvings of women seizing without heeding what trees they came from. This practice made the Sala-tree obsolete. (cf. pp. 152, 153)

This AMg. passage, occurring in Ray., makes it also clear why just *salabhanjika* attained a general use and not perchance the other terms *uddalakapusabhanjika*, *viranapusapracayika*, and *talabhanjika* also referred to in the *Kāṭikā* with regard to games in Eastern India: Sala can mean both 'branch of a tree' and 'Sala-tree'. So the term *salabhanjika*

was more suitable for denoting in general the carving of a woman bending down the branch of a tree than all the other terms mentioned in the *Kāṭikā* or in the *Kāmasūtra*. (cf. p. 152 of this article)

Vogel has not touched upon this point in his article, as the abundant reference material on *salabhanjia*, available in the AMg. texts was not at his hand.

As far as Buddhist literature is concerned I am not able to add more material than that mentioned in the previous pages. I did not come across the term *salabhanjia* in the Jatakas, in the *Lalitavistara* the edited Gilgit Manuscripts, the *Avadānakalpalatā*, the Pali *Vinaya-pitaka* and in the not yet edited *Bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka*. This rare occurrence is in striking contrast to the frequency of the term *salabhanjia* in the Jaina Prakrit texts.

I would venture to explain this in the following way : We have noted that the pose, in which Maya delivers her child, the future Buddha, standing and seizing the branch of a tree, is the same pose which is characteristic for a *salabhanjika*. This motif had taken on a more and more worldly character in sculpture as well as in Prakrit texts, in which we found *salabhanjia* several times mentioned next to *vala* (Skt. *vyala*) in the passages quoted by me last. This might have caused Buddhist writers to be more reserved in using this term, which may have appeared to them as too much permeated with worldly flavour. Buddhists must have been far more sensitive on this point than any other community in India, as it is the pose in which the mother of the Bodhisattva had borne him.²⁶

When Buddhist writers felt shy about mentioning the term *salabhanjia*, frequently used in Jaina texts, too often, this certainly does not exclude the use of the woman-tree motif in Buddhist art as the bracket figures in Sancti show. But in many cases, wherever this motif in Buddhist art appears, we have to think of the possibility of its alluding to the delivery motif of Maya at Lumbini. And even if no Sala-tree can be identified this possibility can be easily excluded as we also found the Plaksa-tree mentioned in connection with the birth of the Bodhisattva in the text of the *Mahāvastu*. The same tree is mentioned in a parallel passage of the *Lalitavistara*.²⁷

With regard to *toranasalabhanjika* in Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* V. 52 Cowel's emendation of 'mala' into 'sala' is fully confirmed now by other manuscript material used in E. H. Johnston's edition of *Buddha-*

carita, Part I. Calcutta, 1935. The reading 'mala' is not mentioned in his footnotes, but he quotes the text of the Tibetan translation : torana-salabhanjika appears to be translated as rta-babs-la salabhanjika, so printed in Johnston's footnote.* Rta-babs-la represents torana followed by salabhanjika which seems to be merely transliterated into Tibetan, if I understand Johnston's note correctly. Friedrich Weller's text is unfortunately not at hand in order to enable me to check the Tibetan reading.

A few remarks may be added about what the Sanskrit Silpa- and Vastu-sastras tell us regarding our term.

I could not trace the term salabhanjika in the following texts available to me :

(1) Varahamihira's *Brhatsamhitā* in the corresponding chapters 56 and 58.

(2) *Mānasāra*, edited by P. K. Acharya, 1933.

(3) *Silparatna* by Śrīkumar, ed. by Ganapati Sastri, Part I, Trivandrum, 1922 ; Part 2, Trivandrum, 1929.

The term salabhanjika is however traceable in the Sanskrit text, *Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra* by King Bhojadeva, ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri Vol. I, No XXXII, Gaekwad's Oriental Series (abbrev. Samar.). Date probably eleventh century A.D. Cf. editor's intr., p. 2 in Vol. I.

Samar. II, 68, 99, p. 216, reads :

dvare karyau pratiharau bhallika toranastatha
stambhayo'sca varalau dvau salabhanjikaya saha

Translation : 'At the entrance two doorkeepers have to be placed and also auspicious gateways have to be erected ; and two leogriffs²⁸ at the two pillars with a woman seizing the branch of a tree.' (cf. *vala* in a similar context on pp. 154, 155).

This passage reminds us again of the toranasalabhanjika mentioned in Buddhacar. V. 52 and in Ray. referred to on pp. 149, 154 and 155 of this article.

Samar, II, pp. 69, 70 :

ratideham atha brumah prasadam sumanoramam
apsaroganasamkirnam kamadevasya mandiram

astabhagikrte ksetre samabhage samayate
 dvipadam karnakutam syad varimargasamanvitam
 alindasya caturbhaga vistarayam atah samah
 bhagiki bahyabhittis tu sesam garbham prakalpayet
 madhye catuskika karya yatra stambhah susobhanah
 nekaraka trivaktraisca haste sarvaih sapatrakaih (?)
 pallavair nagabandhaisca salabhanjibhir anvitah

Translation : 'We are going to mention now the very attractive lofty building Ratideha (structure for amorous enjoyment)²⁹, the temple of the God of Love, which is crowded with troops of nymphs.

'On a building ground, which is divided in to eight parts³⁰ with the same arrangement regarding its length, the tower of the corner equipped with a water-channel covers two padas, four parts are attributed to the terrace with the same arrangement regarding its width, one part is occupied by the outside wall and the remaining portions by the inner apartment, in the middle of which a set of four beautiful pillars are erected. They are decorated with snakes as festoons and with carvings of women bending the branch of a tree, with all kinds of blossoms and leaves in their hands and there are Nekarakas (?) with three faces.'

Samar. II, 59, 85-86, p. 123 :

grharajam atha brumah sa syat kailasasannibhah
 vitankanirgamadharaniryuhah sarvato vrtah
 valabhya bhusito madhye gavaksadvarasamyutah
 kapotastambhaparyantah salabhanjivirajitah

Translation : 'Now we are going to mention "the king among buildings" which resembles the Kailasa-mountain. It is enclosed all round by lakes, outlets, steeples and turrets decorated with a pinnacle in the middle and equipped with doors and windows. There are Kapota-pillars in its circuit resplendent with carvings of women bending down the branch of a tree.'

Another passage is traceable in the Sanskrit text *Aparājitaprecchā* of Bhuvanadeva, ed. by P.A. Mankad, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXV, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1950 (abbrev. Apar.). The editor thinks the date of this text between the twelfth and the first of the thirteenth century A.D. (op. cit., p. xii)

Apar. 86, 23, p. 216, reads :

tatha candrakalamekamrjaksobha (?)³¹ salabhanjika
chadyakapotakalam tu nirgata mada-malika

I cannot give a satisfactory translation of this passage. But one thing seems to be clear, that we meet here with another synonym of the woman-tree motif, mentioned together with salabhanjika, with mada-malika !

Mada-malika is not included in Acarya's Dictionary on the *Māna-sāra*.

Sabdakalpadruma records mada—vrksavisesa. Thus the translation would be : 'Carving of a woman who performs a garland in line with the Mada-tree.' But there is also another possibility of interpretation.

During my study of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts from Tibet *Bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka* and *Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka*.³² I came across the following sequence of terms on the latter : prahana-salayam va (hall of religious-exercise), upasthana-salayam va (hall of meetings), mandala-made va (circular assembly hall),³³ (10' B, patra. 5, pankti 6 ; in pankti 5 of the same patra appears also agnisalayam va (fire-hall), the figures refer to the order of the manuscript leaves in the photos).

In R. L. Turner's *Dictionary of the Nepali Language* ; London, 1931, maro has been recorded with the meaning of 'circuit', 'circle' which corresponds to mada in mandala-mada and mada-malika.

Accordingly the verbal translation of mada-malika could also be : 'carving of a woman who performs a garland in line with the circuit of a tree.'

This interpretation is supported by another passage in another Silpa text *Silpaprakāśa* with which I am concluding the quotations from Vastu- and Silpa-sastras.³⁴

The passage reads :

triccheda-nimne sīram ca parśva-dṛśya manorame
tad urdhve dakhina-danda dalanusarini tatha/420/
dakhina-tribhujā(m)-bahu asrite dakhina-bhūje
katiyordhve parśvav adhe ca nabhi-madhya-sthalanvita/421/
vama-bahu kuncit nimne punah danda-rekhakṛti

dalagra-sparsita-mudra vama-dese susobhane/422/
 dakhina-pada tad parsve dandakare manohare
 dakhina-tribhuja-bahu-lambini d a l a - m a l i k a /423/

Let me attempt a translation, commencing with the last line. 'Dala malika is a figure who is attached in a free swinging pose with her arm (to the branch of a tree) to the right triangle.

'Under the divisor dividing the whole surface into three portions attractively the head is in profile (line 1). Above it is the right forearm conforming to the branch of the tree (line 2), (or) as well the right arm resting on one side of the right triangle i.e. the right arm can alternatively also hang down not touching the branch of the tree (line 3), the spot above the hip and below the flank is linked (in one horizontal line) to the centre of the navel (line 4), the left arm goes somewhat downwards having the form of a danda-line i.e. vertical (line 5), (or alternatively) the pose of touching the tip of the branch can also take place in the left beautiful region of the picture surface (line 6), (i.e. alternatively the left hand can also be depicted as seizing the branch of a tree), the right leg is given in profile in the lovely form of the danda-line i.e. verticle line, (line 7).'

Based on this description I would translate dala-malika as follows : 'carving of a female who performs a garland in line with the branch of a tree.'

This passage has made it clear that we are permitted to understand both the terms madamalika and dalamalika as synonyms of salabhanjika.

Both the terms 'mada' and 'dala' are of greatest interest to us as they convey something else than salabhanjika does : an aesthetic impression of the woman-tree pose ! Salabhanjika only denotes the act of bending down the branch of a tree, madamalika and dalamalika show how the people of India looked at it. They must have been struck by the complete artistic unity which this motif could attain in the hands of great masters.

It has become clear now that the garland is the underlying aesthetic concept of this motif executed by the graceful pose of a woman flowing into a tree.

Are Salabhanjika still alive in India ? Yes, we met one at a children's garden-party in Patna, though she did not know she was one.

Wherever, in an Indian village, a tree, overful with joy of life, displays its splendour of blossoms, women will be overwhelmed with emotion and surround such a tree to bend down its branches, to pluck their blossoms for a puja and to put some in their beautiful hair so performing salabhanjika every day.

The patient observer of this graceful natural play may feel tempted to do as Bihari did and exclaim : 'Stay, beautiful image, for ever with your tender arm raised into the green foliage of the tree,'

Playfully she will smile back : 'Here is your salabhanjika, but I do not care so much about my designation as you do !'

The description of the *Silpaprakāśa* does not refer to any human being or animal as support on which a salabhanjika-dalamalika would be standing as we can see on older examples as for instance Culakoka Devata in Bharhut standing on an elephant (Coomar., op. cit., Pl. XI, 39, other example ibidem, Pl. XX, 75, from the Mathura side).

In this respect, the description of the *Silpaprakāśa* goes with what we can see on the facades of temples in Bhuvaneshvara and Konaraka (tenth-twelfth centuries A.D.). Here, mostly, decorated pedestals appear instead. The description of a salabhanjika given in *Rāyapasenaijja* (quoted by me on pp. 151, 152) does not mention any specific type of support except the general remark: *supatthiyao*—'well fixed' or 'well supported'.

At the begining of this article the Bharhut figures of Culakoka Devata and Canda Yakhi (cf. Figs. 1 and 2) are mentioned as the earliest available sculptures depicting the woman and tree motif of the salabhanjika type. In his article on 'Dohada or the Woman and Tree Motif'³⁵ K. Rama Pisharoti sees a dohada motif represented in these images. He says :

'Yaksi Canda, Bharhut, stands with her right foot planted firm on a fish-tailed horse,³⁶ her left leg and arm entwine the stem of a tree, while with her right hand she lowers a bough. Here is a clear instance of the Latavestika type of Alingana-dohada, and the tree must presumably be Kuravaka.^{37a} Equally typical of the same kind of dohada is the figure of Culakoka Devata.' (op. cit., p. 115)

In his note 1, p.119, he refers to Vogel's article 'On Woman and Tree or Salabhanjika' and remarks : 'We do not agree with him when he would characterize every combination of woman and tree as a sala-bhanjika and say this decorative motif,..... From his citations it is clear that the earliest positive reference to salabhanjika occurs in Bana, a contemporary of Harsa of Kanauj. We believe, a clear distinction can be made between pratiyatana and salabhanjika.'

One who carefully goes through Vogels' article will see that there is no such intention. Pisharoti did not notice Vogel's quotation of Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* V.52, a work belonging to first century A.D., in which Cowel's emendation of torana-malabhanjika into salabhanjika has been fully confirmed later by further manuscript material from Nepal (see p.158) and by Prakrit passages (see pp.154, 155).

Pisharoti continues : 'Thus the citations he has given do not tend to make clear the origin of the term salabhanjika and we would preferably accept the meaning of the term as given in lexicons, namely a female figure. The interpretation of the term sala as referring to the material of which it is made need not be necessarily wrong when it is remembered that the Bharhut, Sanci, and Mathura railings are stone copies of original wooden ones. And this leads to the conclusion that original figures were made of wood, probably of the Sala tree. This characterization of all woman and tree figures as Salabhanjika is a little too farfetched. For in the first place the woman and tree combination figures as decoration on pillars and brackets, as well as on door jambs. In the second place we have no specific literary reference which connects woman and tree as Salabhanjika. If indeed the woman and tree at Bharhut, Sanci, etc. represent Salabhanjika, in the original sense of the term, the tree should have been depicted as Sala, particularly in view of the Buddhistic importance of the place and the Buddhistic associations of the Sala tree, but, unfortunately, some of these are Asoka and others Mango. And, lastly, such an identification does not help us explain their activity. Hence we interpret these as dohada figures ; or, following the terminology of Sanskrit writers, we may call them Dohada-salabhanjika on the model of such expressions as torana-salabhanjika, stambha-salabhanjika or sala-salabhanjika.' (op cit., Note 1, p.119)

The aforesaid gives the view which Pisharoti holds in connection with the Bharhut figures. He is right when he states that images originally were carved in wood. Where his remark 'We have no specific literary reference which connects woman and tree as salabhanjika' is concerned, he is only right so far as no such reference has been given in Vogel's

article. On page 152 of this paper a literary reference has been quoted from the Jaina Svetambara text *Rāyapāsenaijja*, which connects a woman with the Asoka-tree as salabhanjika ! On pages 156-158 (specially see Note 24) of my article I have pointed out that also in the Buddhist sphere the birth of the future Buddha is not always necessarily connected with the Sala-tree and that in the *Mahāvastu* and in the *Lalitavistara* the Plaksa-tree is mentioned instead. This shows that we cannot draw any conclusions on that ground.

We have noted that Pisharoti sees a latavestika type of alingana-dohada in the Bharhut image inscribed as Canda Yaksi.

It may be tempting to think of the possibility that here a dohada motif may also be indicated in view of the Bharhut figures under flowery trees and with the *Meghadūta* passage on dohada in mind. Did the craftsmen intend to underline the magic power of these deities by showing their dohada performance which causes the tree to put forth blossoms ? There is one difficulty to answer this question in the full affirmative. The woman and tree representations on the Bharhut railings are depicted with their right arms raised (some smaller representations raise their left arms) bending down the branch of a tree, an act which is expressed by the term salabhanjiya, determined in this article as 'carving of a female bending down the branch of a tree'. Pisharoti has given a valuable list of dohada references on pages 119-124 of his article. There is no mention of a lady who raises her arm to seize the branch of a tree while performing dohada. On the other hand there is not one salabhanjika passage quoted by Vogel and not one added by me from Jaina Prakrit sources and Sanskrit Silpasastras which has dohada in context. This rather suggests to see different things in salabhanjika and dohada with different meanings underlying them. The only thing in common is the tree with which both are evoked. In the case of the salabhanjika pose the tree appears to be the giver, fertilizing and occasionally even decorating a woman. C. Sivaramamurti published an interesting piece of Amaravati sculpture depicting a lady in salabhanjika pose under a kalpa-vrkṣa—desire-granting tree receiving ornaments from it (op. cit., Pl. LXI, Fig. 2) which he rightly connects with *Meghadūta* II, 12. Dohada represents just the opposite : fertilization given to a tree by the touch of a woman. Cf. Mallinatha's remark on dohada in Megh, II, 18 : dohadam vrkṣa-dinam prasava karanam samskara dravyam. Pisharoti remarks : 'The dohada rite, however, performed for the sake of the tree, is not a fertility rite, but one of fertilization, so that the tree may have flowers in abundance.' (op. cit., p. 119, Note 1) The explanation for salabhanjiya, a woman who seizes the branch of a tree with her hand, obtained from Ray., enables

us better now to distinguish what we should understand as *salabhanjika* and what should be placed under the category of *dohada*. On this ground the woman and tree carvings in *Bharhut* are nearer to what we have learned to understand as *salabhanjika*.

The reader may ask, have we an indication that this term was in use, when the stone railings of *Bharhut* were erected? On p. 153 of this article I have shown that *salabhanjiya* can be traced in a very archaic metre of the *Jaina Pkt.* texts, which leads us into the pre-Christian era according to H. Jacobi's investigations. We may therefore assume that this term was known at the time of the construction of the *Bharhut Stupa*.³⁷

The motif of branch-bending females is repeated in one of the bas-reliefs on a pillar of the railing-piece which contains the life-size figure of an unnamed woman and tree representation noted in Mazumdar's *Guide* on p.25, No. 30. The two bas-relief figures emerging from a medalion in the middle of the pillar stand on lotus-buds and are carved on the left and on the right edge of the pillar. In one of the figures the right leg is thrown round the stem while the left hand is bending down a bough with a lotus-flower. (Fig. 4b) We may assume here that an *alingana-dohada* motif has been incorporated into the *salabhanjika* pose though it could also be interpreted as an attitude of simply holding on or playfully clinging to the tree. This point appears to be somewhat modified in figure 4a. This figure is just hanging aside the tree, right leg and the raised right arm thrown round the stem. The right hand is just holding on to the lower part of a lotus stalk the blossom of which has not yet opened. The left arm is hanging down straight in the *dandarekhakrti* line,³⁸ i.e. vertically. This figure does not appear in the typical *salabhanjika* pose—bending down a bough, as the figure in Fig. 4b does ; I therefore would like to see a *sparsa-dohada* representation in it. It is probable that the artist wanted to indicate here that the closed lotus-bud is just going to unfold, animated by the touch of the lady's hand like the fully opened lotus-flower above it !

The life-size figure of *Canda Yakṣi* (Fig. 2), claimed for *alingana-dohada* by Pisharoti, makes it clear that the bough of the tree is bent down in order to pluck the buds or the flowers. *Canda Yakṣi* not only raises her right arm, seizing a clearly marked branch of the tree, but, while her left arm is thrown round the stem, thumb and forefinger of the left hand take graceful hold of a tender stalk ending with leaves and flowers belonging to the same tree. Other freshly plucked flowers with their leaves are delicately fixed in the hair near her right ear. No artist could express himself more distinctly than the creator of this magni-

ficent work. He lets her take part in one of the flower-games mentioned in the *Avadānatāka*, the *Kāṭikā* and in the *Kāmasūtra*. She is thus a true representation of a salabhanjika—irrespective of how we would classify the tree. My friend, Mr. Sen Gupta of the Indian Museum of Calcutta, to whose kind help I am deeply indebted, sees a Kunda-(Yasmin)-tree in it.³⁹ If there is a Sala-tree depicted or not is irrelevant in the matter as the poses of the Culakoka Devata and Canda Yaksi images are in full concordance with the textual evidence regarding salabhanjika. We should also not forget that all these women and tree figures in Bharhut are included in the iconographic programme of Buddhist Stupa. Remembering that this pose is exactly the same, in which Maya Devi gives birth to the Bodhisattva, the symbolic coherence between both becomes evident.⁴⁰ They display their branch bending gestures in sympathy with the auspicious event of the Bodhisattva's birth ! This fine interrelationship is of greater importance from the viewpoint of the Stupa with its railings as a whole than merely bringing these figures in connection with the salabhanjika-flower-game and its pose only.

In Buddhist Stupa such salabhanjika representations do not fulfil a decorative purpose only but clearly allude to the happy events in the Lumbini Grove.

The Bharhut figures contain still more of interest to us. They disclose that the oldest representations of salabhanjika which have come down to us depict devatas and Yaksis, superhuman beings, which are closely associated with trees. That Yaksas had also their residence on trees has been pointed out by Dr. Jitendra Nath Banerjea in *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd rev. ed., University of Calcutta, 1956, p. 341. He mentions an early archaeological evidence of a tree spirit whose face is drawn on a tree trunk from the Amaravati sculptures. (op. cit., Pl. VIII, Fig. 5) He further remarks: 'Another fragmentary sculpture (op. cit., Pl. XIII, Fig. 2) finally settles this point ; it shows the head and upper part of a big-eyed Yaksha beneath some sort of a structure with the top portion of a tree and probably a heap of coins arranged in cylindrical form in the back-ground. The inscription in Brahmi script of the second or first century B.C. gives the identity of the Yaksha as Candra Mukha, the dweller of the Vakula (tree).' Dr. Banerjea approves of Sivaramamurti's reading: Yakho Cada-mukho vaku(la)nivasi as correct.

We may add from literary sources a passage in the Jaina text *Vasudevahinḍī* quoted in Dr. U. P. Sha's article 'Yaksa Worship in Early Jaina Literature'⁴¹: bharahe magaha-janavae sali-ggame

manoram' ujjanam tattha sumano nama jakkho, tassa asoya-payava-samsiya sila sumana, tattha nam jana puyanti.⁴² Translation : 'In Bharata, in the Magadha region, in the Sali-village is a park called Manorama ; there resides a Yaksha Sumana by name, his stone (platform) is located under an Asoka-tree, there the people pay their homage.' In Zimmer's book (op. cit., II, Fig. 90) Yaksha Sakyavardhana is depicted sitting on a stone slab under a tree eyeing the newly born Bodhisattva.

In our case Yaksis and Devatas, female spirits and goddesses, are associated with trees in the pose of a salabhanjika. They are represented in their good mood through their branch-bending gestures by taking part in auspicious games with the trees. And there is really no other pose than this one which could more clearly express the unity of a tree with its deity. Seals have also been found in Mohenjodaro, which depict a tree deity between two stems. But I did not see any example among them in which the figure raises her arm in order to seize the branch of a tree. With the association of women with trees we reach common human archaic ground. In P. Ovidi Nasonis *Metamorphoseon* 1.452-567 the metamorphose of the nymph Daphne into a tree is narrated when she ran away before Phoebus in order to escape the touch of the lover. We read in Met. 1.550, 551 :

In frondem crines, in ramos brachia crescent ;
Pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus haeret.

Translation : 'Her hair grows into the foliage and her arms into the branches of a tree ; and her foot now, once so quick, stuck in inert roots.'

Compare also the sad story of Cinyras and Myrrha who was transformed into a tree together with not yet born child she was carrying.⁴³

Returning to salabhanjika and dohada the following may also be observed. Pisharoti has given some examples which he interprets as dohada.⁴⁴ He remarks for instance : 'The Mandapam of the Ramacandra temple at Rajim, C.P., has its pillars beset with them.' (Pl. XXIX, op. cit., p.118) The pillar-figures on the right hand side of the Mandapam, raising their left arms and bending down the bough represent the salabhanjika pose. Among them is one who bends her right leg touching the trunk of a tree, which may be interpreted as a 'kick' but also could be a pose included in lila-tthiya--'leisurely inclined against', as we have learned from our Prakrit sources. But the pillar-figure on the left of the Mandapam in the foreground seems to represent alingana-dohada. The figure is turned towards the pillar, the right arm

is slightly raised embracing the pillar or stem, the left arm resting on the hip. From the photo, unfortunately, more details cannot be given.

These examples show that it is difficult to fix dohada motifs in art in spite of their frequency in literature. In sculptures the salabhanjika pose 'bending down the branch' had become so dominant that the dohada motif seemed to have been either absorbed or overshadowed by it as both poses, though representing different meanings, deal with one and the same subject: with trees. Under these circumstances it could not be avoided that one motif, in our case the salabhanjika, achieved predominance incorporating dohada motifs as 'the kick of a tree by a lady's foot'. The possibility cannot be overlooked on the other hand that an artist intending to depict a dohada motif may have boldly included the salabhanjika pose in his representation. Pisharoti felt in this direction when he coined the term dohada-salabhanjika, but we will have to be careful in using such a term for which there is no evidence in literature yet.

I would like to conclude with H. Zimmer's remarks on this subject in his already quoted book, *The Art of Indian Asia*, in which he gives a description of a relief depicting the nativity of the future Buddha from Amaravati, approximate date about second century A.D., 1st Vol. pp. 79-81, 2nd Vol., Fig. 90.⁴⁵

'In the present relief the most striking feature is the posture of the queen. She stands in the so-called salabhanjika position, a classic attitude of tree-goddesses in Indian art. Compare for example the vrksakas just discussed. Apparently the Hindu craftsmen here again put to use an ancient pattern for the rendition of a new theme, for if the naga and yaksa could serve as models for Parsvanatha and the Buddha, so could the classic postures of tree-goddesses for queen Maya at the moment of the nativity. When compared with the dryads of Sanci the figure in this relief is clearly of the same tradition. Like an actress or a dancer the blessed mother assumed, with a playful momentary gesture, the attitude of a tree-nymph or of a human damsel fertilizing a tree magically by seizing its branches with her hand and giving its trunk a gentle kick with her left heel. The same animation that was apparent with the nymph is evident here, though somewhat subdued by the artist's respect for the dignity of his theme (op. cit., pp.80,81).

We agree with Zimmer that the classic postures of tree-goddesses have served as modes for the nativity pose of Queen Maya. But when

he includes dohada motifs by his remark '... fertilizing a tree magically by seizing its branches with her hand and giving its trunk a gentle kick with her left heel' it will be difficult to accept this. We have already seen on the previous pages that all the available Buddhist sources on Maya's nativity pose neither contain dohada in the context nor indicate anything from which we could conclude that an act of fertilization towards a tree takes place when Maya seizes the branch of the tree. (cf. Note 40) We remember that according to *Mahāvastu* II, 18, 19 (cf. Note 24 of this article) Maya performs salabhanjika in the Lumbini Grove under a Plaksa-tree! Just the opposite to the meaning of dohada must well be understood here in the sense that the tree renders its protection, life-substance and fertility power in support of the successful deliverance of the child. No kind of dohada can be accepted in this instance as Maya has expressly and emphatically been declared to be free from desires when the Bodhisattva had entered her womb. This is evidently the reason why we cannot find any traces of dohada in this context in Buddhist sources. (cf. Note 40 referring to the Chinese version Tapen-ching, compare also the Pali version in the Mahapadanasuttanta of the *Digha-nikāya* XIV, 1, 19, PTS, Vol. II, p. 13) But by this the reader should not get the impression that the term dohada is a stranger in Buddhist literature. When the mythological king Gtsug-na nor-bu = Manicuda, a former incarnation of the Buddha, was going to be born a dohada-desire—dohadabhimatam = Tib. sred-pa'i mnon-par 'dod bzin arose in his mother under the impact of the embryo garbhanubhavana = Tib. mna! gyi mthus to which the king responds with a plenitude of gifts more than desired. (Ksemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā* with its Tibetan version ed. by Sarat Chandra Das, Reprint Edition, Calcutta, 1940, p. 65, 3rd pallava, verse 17)

The attitude of Maya Devi in the above-mentioned Amaravati relief is most instructive: Her left arm is raised and seizes the branch of a tree, the left knee is bent with her left foot gently touching the stem of a tree and her right arm rests on her right hip. This could be interpreted as a padaghata dohada motif. Dohada in the sense of 'fertilizing a tree magically by seizing its branches' cannot be accepted in a Buddhist work with its particular iconographic topic mentioned above. This instance will therefore make us more careful in the interpretation of similar foot postures outside the Buddha-nativity theme when a salabhanjika-'a branch bending pose'—is involved!

I myself have often the impression that these foot postures indicate more a leisurely resting on the stem of a tree than a kick, as in the above-mentioned Amaravati relief. Thus this posture may have simply been



Fig. 1
Culakoka Devata, Bharhut



Fig. 2
Canda Yaksi, Bharhut



Fig. 3
Bough of an Asoka tree with flower



Fig. 4
a *b*
Bas-relief, Bharhut



Fig. 5a



Fig. 5b

Allahabad Salabhanjika



Fig. 5c
Allahabad Salabhanjika



Fig. 6a
Facade of a wooden temple from Nepal

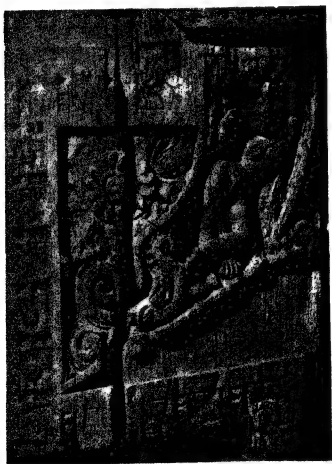


Fig. 6b
Detail of the wooden facade with a Salabhanjika motif



Fig 7

a b c d
Paintings on a wooden panel, Marwar, Rajasthan

included in the pose *lila-tthiya*, a term familiar to us from the Prakrit description of a *salabhanjiya*.⁴⁶

All the texts quoted in this article with reference to the birth of the future Buddha Sakyamuni agree that his birth took place while his mother was standing under a tree seizing a branch of it, i.e. in the pose of a *salabhanjika*. *Mahāvastu* II, 20.9-10 in addition remarks that a mother of a Bodhisattva does not bring forth a Bodhisattva while sitting or lying as other woman do but only while standing. This is confirmed with regard to the birth of the Bodhisattva Vipasyin too in MAV 5c. I and Pali Digh. XIV, 1,24. Pts. Vol. II, p.14. The Chinese version *Ta-pen-chin* also stresses that Vipasyin was born while his mother was standing seizing the branch of a tree and not while sitting and lying. The same is mentioned in the Ch'i fo. (cf. Waldschmidt, MAV, p.89, note 1)

The only exception which I came across in Buddhist literature is in Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* I, 8. Here it is narrated that Maya proceeded to a couch (*sayyam vitanopathitam*) overspread with an awning. There is no mention of Maya standing while having her child!

Cf. The *Buddhacartia*, ed. by E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1935 Part. I Sanskrit Text, p. 1 and Part II. Transtation p. 3 Calcutta, 1936.⁴⁷

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

Fig.1. Culakoka Devata, Bharhut, inscribed, standing in the pose of a *salabhanjika* under an Asoka-tree.

Date : c. first century B.C.

Height : 6' 5".

Material : Red sandstone.

Housed in : Indian Museum, Calcutta.

(Text references : pages 147, 151, 152, 163, 164, 165.)

Fig.2. Canda Yakshi, Bharhut, inscribed, standing in the pose of a *salabhanjika* under a tree not finally identified.

Date : c. first century B.C.

Height : 6' 4".

Material : Red Sandstone.

Housed in : Indian Museum, Calcutta.

(Text references : pages 147, 163, 164, 165, 166.)

Fig.3. Bough of an Asoka-tree with a red blossom identified by Mrs Waldschmidt in the Botanical Garden, Calcutta, on 2nd March, 1958.

(Text references : pages 151, 152.)

Fig 4. Salabhanjika, Bharhut Bas-Relief at Stupa-Railing.

Date : first century B.C

Height : left figure 12", right figure 13".

Material : Red Sandstone.

Housed in : Indian Museum, Calcutta.

(Text references : page 166)

ALLAHABAD SALABHANJIKA

Figs. 5a-5c. Door-jamb 5' 1" high, with salabhanjika under Asoka-tree, 1' 7.5" high, standing on a male figure as a vahana from Nagod in Vindya Pradesh. (Text references : pages 151, 152.)

Date : Gupta period, c. sixth century A.D.

Material : Red sandstone.

Housed in : Allahabad Museum.

The figure stands in the classical pose of a salabhanjika bending down the branch of an Asoka-tree with her raised right arm while the left arm is hanging vertically down, like a real danda-rekhakrti (cf. *Silpaprukāṣa*, p.161 of this article) Her right leg rests in a diagonal line on wave-like creepers out of which the upper part of a male figure emerges. Her left leg taking no weight is leisurely bent touching the back of the supporting male figure (Figs. 5b and 5c).

Over the face of the salabhanjika a certain melancholy of inner resignations behind her youthful charms is tenderly spread, which is in concordance with the lassitude and somewhat reserved pronunciation of her whole body. It is most fascinating to observe how the Gupta type of the Buddha physiognomy has been transformed into this face, which seems to represent the oversaturated mood and the end of the Gupta age. An artist however does not think consciously on such lines which we believe to discover long after his creation. An artist of ancient times wants to represent a particular object which is linked with the popular topics current in his time. The artist may have tried to depict a Yaksini in the pose of a salabhanjika who has to wait long or with little hope for her Yakṣa husband or lover, a topic treated in Kalidasa's *Meghadūtam*. Or is she a sthālī-devatā a local tree-goddess who looks down on our sufferings of separation and despair with compassion, so beautifully described in Kalidasa's *Uttaramegha*, verse 46 ?

mam akāśa-prāṇhita-bhujam nṛdayasleśa-hetor
labdhayas te katham api maya svapna-samdarśanesu
pasyantīnam na khalu bahusō na sthālī-devatānam
mukta-sthūlas taru-kīśalayesv asru-leśah patantī

Translation : 'Drops of tears do fall plentifully indeed, as big as pearls, on the sprouts of trees (from the eyes) of the local-(tree) deities, who see me with my arms stretched forth towards the sky in order to embrace you vigorously after I had won you with some difficulties in the visions of my dreams.'

How compassionate a tree-goddess can be who resides in an Asoka-tree is confirmed by another passage in *Avadānāśatakam* I, 238, 3-5 where a tree-goddess cries about the Parinirvana of the Samyaksambuddha Kasyapa : *atha ya devata tasminn asoka-vrkse vyusita sa bhagavatah kasyapasya samyaksambuddhasya parinirvanam srutva roditum pravṛtta, tasya rudantya 'sru-bindavo 'sokasya kaye nipatitum pravṛttah.*

Translation : 'After the goddess who resided in the Asoka-tree had learnt about the Parinirvana of the Lord Kasyapa, the perfectly enlightened one, she commenced crying, and the tear-drops of the weeping one began to fall on the body of Asoka ' (Here the name of a monk staying under this tree is indicated, remark of translator.) E. Waldschmidt has already referred to this passage in his '*Das Mahāparinirvanasūtra*' III, p. 485, note 6) to his German translation of the Chinese version in which the Asoka-tree is also mentioned in the same context."

The whole pillar-like door-jamb is conceived as a tree-trunk. Round bunches containing little blossoms, which remind us of the Asoka blossoms already noticed in Bharhut, appear over the whole pillar and in the foliage above the head of the figure. They are symmetrically arranged all over the trunk placed between palmettes. The little round blossoms growing on distinctly marked stalks look indeed like mukta-sthulas 'as big as pearls' described by Kalidasa. Do they represent the teardrops, as big as pearls, which the tree goddess sheds for us or for herself ? What a conception Kalidasic in its nature, transformed into stone ! In which other way could an artist express himself better when he intended to translate the abovementioned Kalidasa verse into stone ? Tears could not have been represented in a more ingenious way. I am inclined to see a tree-goddess performing *salabhanjika* in this figure, who appears to be in distress shedding tears which are represented by the round blossoms of the Asoka clusters. They can be distinctly recognized in Fig. 5a. Here in the front below the supporting male figure blossoms as round and as big like pearls sitting on little stalks, like the Kalidasic tears of the tree-goddess, are visible.

In the frame of this door-jamb the *salabhanjika* and the figure below her appear as if they were standing in the niche of a grotto. The erect attitude of the upper part of the body of the supporting male who

emerges from wave-like creepers and his face with half closed eyes suggest that he may be the Yaksa who sees his beloved wife in 'the visions of his dreams'.

A glance at the composition of the Allahabad salabhanjika and her supporting vahana shows how masterly the whole is laid out. Behind the head of the main figure a kind of a head-cover appears (Fig. 5c). Two heavy ear-rings hang down. The round necklace frames the face together with the upright slightly bent arm which flows into a curved branch above the distinctly curled hair characteristic of the Gupta style. A piece of cloth is placed round the shoulders, the right portion of which is hanging down in vertically accentuated lines, running parallel to the strictly vertically kept arm while the left portion of the cloth is leisurely gliding down the left arm arranged in diagonally accentuated lines which point to the right hip. At this junction they appear to be diverted into the powerful diagonal line of the right leg. But they run parallel on the other hand with the lower part of the leisurely bent left leg, a movement continued by the left arm of the supporting figure. The movement reaches its end in the hand of this figure indicating the lowest spot of the whole composition which can be connected in a straight line with its highest spot: the right hand of the salabhanjika seizing a branch of the tree!

NEPALESE SALABHANJIKA

Fig. 6a represents the front-piece of a carved wooden facade from a temple at the border of Nepal. I could not get any details from which place this piece exactly comes. It is housed in the National Museum, Raj Bhavan, New Delhi, Measurements - 4' x 11.1".

Fig 6b is a detail of it. In the right wing of the facade near a window like opening a salabhanjika is depicted with a makara as her vahana. I saw this motif frequently in Nepal in places like Bhatgaon, Patan and Kathmandu itself, used as bracket-figures on doors and windows. This piece of art is a work of the seventeenth century A.D. most probably. It is a strong reminder of *Buddhacarita* V 52: avalambya gavaksa-parśvam . . . capavibhugna-yastih torana-salabhanjikeva. (Text, pp. 149, 154, 159)

This type of salabhanjika fixed in a kind of a bower is reminiscent of a similar conception in Kankali Tila near Mathura. Compare one piece designated as Yaksī or Vrksaka from this place, date c. first century A.D., now housed in the Lucknow Museum. (see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, Plate XX, 75)

After a new inquiry from the office of the National Museum at New Delhi I learnt that this wooden facade had been acquired from the Schweiger Collection in New Delhi in 1952 and that the place of its origin is unknown. Sometimes a male figure even appears in the pose of a salabhanjika, e.g. Cintamani Lokesvara on the west facade of the Machindranath temple in Kathmandu city.

RAJASTHANI SALABHANJIKAS

Figs. 7a-7d. Wood-paintings on the wings of a folding door from Rajasthan, Marwar, late eighteenth century A D

Measurements : Left wing (Figs 7a-7b) 5'9" x 13.9".

Right wing (Figs 7c-7d) 5'9" x 12".

Housed in : National Museum, New Delhi

Fig 7a. Removal of a thorn from the lady's foot standing under a tree raising her left arm and bending down the branch of the tree.

Main distribution of colour : background red, tree-trunk brownish red ; on top : five petalled white blossoms (perhaps Yasmin). The lady's skin is light brown, hair black, trousers are kept in Indian red with brown clouded regular circlels

Fig. 7b. Lady under a tree of the same type with balls or fruits in her hands.

Main distribution of colouring is the same as in Fig. 7a, but the two balls or fruits appear in dark blue, the pair of trousers are also in dark blue with yellowish floral geometrical designs.

Fig 7c. Lady under a tree of the same type holding one of its branches with her left hand and a stalk with two lotuses in her right hand.

Main distribution of colouring is the same. Trousers are in Indian red without designs. Long scarf in dark blue having brown stripes on border with white floral designs.

Fig. 7d. Lady under a tree of the same type, her right arm raised above her head, the left arm hanging down and holding a string with a disc. It seems to be kind of a whirlingig or yo-yo. In Bengal a similar thing is known as cand-mala where it is attached to the goddess Kali during the Pujas as symbol of purity.

Main distribution of colouring is the same as in Fig. 7c, but the trousers are painted in Indian red having dull yellow floral ornaments. The disc has four concentric circles with colours like dull yellow, Indian red, dark blue, and light yellow and dark blue in the centre.

Below each figure a lion is depicted serving as a tutelary animal of brownish colour.

These paintings recall scenes from the drama *Viddha-salabhanjika* referred to on p.151 of this article.

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notes

¹ On the left hip, when the left arm is raised

² Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia, Its Mythology and Transformations*, completed and edited by J Campbell, Bollingen Series XXXIX, Pantheon Books, New York, 1955, Volume One : Text, Volume two Plates. See Fig 33b Culakoka Devata, Fig 34b Canda Yakṣi, both from Bharhut, dated on the plates as 'Early first century B.C.' Fig. 15 denoted as 'bracket figure' 'yakṣi', or 'vrksaka' (dryad) from Sanci, ascribed to the early first century A.D. on the plate. Figs. 74a and 76b denoted as tree-goddesses from Mathura, ascribed to the second century A.D. on the plate. Zimmer does not describe these motifs as salabhanjika

A. K. Coomaraswamy also does not use this term in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927

C Sivaramamurti, however, used it in *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series—General Section, Vol IV, Madras, 1942, on pages 64, 65 and 79 (78). Cf. new print, Madras, 1956.

³ *Acta Orientalia*, Vol VII, 1929, pp 201-231

⁴ *Avadanasataka*, century of edifying tales belonging to the Hinayana, ed. by J. S. Speyer, Bibl. Buddh. III, St. Petersburg, 1902, pp.302f

⁵ *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, O Bochtlingk and R. Roth, St. Petersburg, 1852-1875, 7 vols, (abbrev. PW), (1) Statue (aus dem Holz der Vatica Robusta) (2) Bez. eines best. Spiels, 3, Buhldirne

A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Monier Williams (abbrev. MW), new print, Oxford, 1951 : an image or figure made of Sala-wood, a kind of game played in the east of India ; a harlot, courtesan

Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (abbrev. BHSD), Franklin Edgerton, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, records under salabhanjika, ika (1) m or nt, breaking of the Sala-branch, said of the Bodhisattva's mother in

giving birth to him, kam ca karisyati, Mv. ii, 18.9 (prose), (2) f., breaking of Sala-branches, n. of a festival, Av i 302.6. BHSD also records under parvan 'day of change of the moon's phases' salabhanjika nama parvatam pratyupasthitam from Av i. 302.6

Pata-Sadda-Mahamavo, P.H.D.T. Sheth, Calcutta, 1928 (abbrev. PSM), records under salabhanjika and salahanji; katha adi ki banai hui putli, referring to *Supasamaha Caru* 43, 54.

Sabdakalpadruma (abbrev. Sbdk.) salabhanjika salena bhajyate nirmiyata iti ksthadi-nirmita-putrika (yatha *Rajataranginyam* 2,66), vesya iti Jatadharah, quoted from the edition 'Revised and published' by B. P. Basu and H. C. Basu, Calcutta, 1886.

From the quotations of PSM and Sbdk it appears that not wood alone is considered as proper material for the statues of salabhanjikas

⁶ *Panini's aṣṭi Buecher Grammatischer Regeln*, herausg.u. erf. von Dr. Otto Boethlingk, Bonn, 1839, p. 172

⁷ 'There is no likelihood whatever that the authors of the *Kasika* (seventh century A.D.) knew more than Katyayana or Patanjali. Burrow's assertion, "In spite of the enormous chronological difference it seems that most of the vast linguistic material contained in this commentary goes to Panini himself through an accurate and unbroken tradition", cannot rest, as an unwary reader may take for granted, on any serious investigation. There is not even a semblance. "The *Kasika Vrtti* copies most of its examples from the *Mahabhasya*," (Kielhorn, *Mahabhasya* III, Preface 8 note) On a number of occasions, the compilers of the *Kasika* would have "much more vividly illustrated Panini's meaning" by quoting the *Candra-Vyakarana* (fifth century A.D. ?) "than by the examples which they have actually given." (Kielhorn, *Ind. ant.* 15, 184, 1886)

⁸ The edition *The Kamsutra* by Sri Vatsyayana Muni with the commentary Jayamangala of Yasodhara ed. by Sri Gosvami Damodar Sastri, the Kashi Sanskrit Series, No.21, 1929, reads iksubhanjika instead with the commentary: iksubhanjika iksukhandamandanam (op cit., 1,4,42, p. 48). Agarwala does not give the exact reference to his quotation, but it is most likely that he has this passage in mind.

⁹ *Viddhasalabhanjika* of Rajasekhara ed. by Sri Jivananda Bhattacharya, Calcutta 1883, p. 36. ** Correction suggested by me*** Op cit., 69, 10. L. H. Gray translates this passage in J.A.O.S., Vol 27, 1906, on p.37 as follows 'The girl seen in a dream, swinging in a swing, transformed into a statue pierced and portable, playing at ball and writing poetry, she is that charms you even if you gaze at her.'

Vogel mentions the *Viddhasalabhanjika* (op cit., p.216), but he does not give the text reference.

¹⁰ tao bis sala, Vedha metre of 4 ganas.

¹¹ addh, bis citthienam Vedha of 4 ganas.

¹² Com.: tesam dvaranam pratyekam ubhayoh parsvayoh ekaikanaisedhikibhavana, dvividhato dviprakarayam naisedhikyam, naisedhiki nisidanasthanam. (op cit., p.161 referring to the passage with candana-kalasa-parivadio) I understand nisihya as a fortification guarding the flanks of the gates of Suryabha's Vimana.

¹³ Malayagiri's Sanskrit Commentary explains: sodasa sodasa salabhanjika-paripatayah prajnapta tascā salabhanjika hīlaya lalitanga-nivesa-rupaya sthitāh liasthitāh and isat-manak asoka-vara-padape samupasthitāh-asritāh

isad-asokavarapadapasamupasthitah, tatha vamahestena grhitam agram salayah-sakhayah arthad asokapadapasya yakabhiis ta vamahesta-grhitagra-salah, (op. cit p.165)

Sala in the meaning of sakha is frequent in the Prakrits, for instance in sala-gharaga—houses made from branches—a bower of branches (Ray, No.114) Monier Williams gives among the meanings of Skt. sala also the meaning 'a large branch'

- ¹⁴ H. Jacobi, 'Indische Hypermetra und hypermetrische Texte,' *Indian Studien* Vol. 17, pp.390 ff Regarding its antiquity see pp.405, 406. W. Schubring, *Wrote Mahavira*

¹⁵ The same passage in *Nayadhammakahao* 1 (abbrev Nay.) in N. V. Vaidya's edition, Poona, 1940, p.22. Cf. Jac., op cit., p.440.

¹⁶ Com. : yanarupam vahanarupam vimanam yanavimanam.

¹⁷ Com. : mahat preksagra-mandapam.

¹⁸ vayara=vajra is expected before veriya=vedika, this is confirmed by the parallel passage Nay 1, abhuggaya-sukaya-vaira-voiya-torana-vara-raiya-sala-bhanyiya-susilittha-visittha-lattha... (Vaidya, p 22).

* — | UUUU | U—U | —UU || — | UU — | U—U | — || (Regarding this metre Cf. L. Alsdorf, 'Der Vedha in der Vasudevahindi', *Festschrift Fr. Weller, Asiatica*, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 1-11.)

¹⁹ I was introduced into Patanjali's *Mahabhasya* through the kindness of Prof Dr Paul Thieme, under whom I was a student in Breslau.

²⁰ Com explains : dvara-sahke—'door-posts'.

²¹ Cf the following passage also, nandapukkharinim puratthimilienam ti-sonana-padiruvaenam paccoruhai hattha-pae pakkhalei. (Ray, op. cit, p.268)

²² I could not trace this term for instance in the works of Kalidasa

²³ How the motif of the screen round Maya has also exercised its influence on the iconography of later mediaeval Birth of Christ representations by the German artist Meister Franke and the Italian Fra Filippo Lippi has been made evident in Friedrich Weller's article 'Buddhistische Einflüsse auf die christliche Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters.—Weiner Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Bd.50 (1943-44), S 65-146.

²⁴ ...dvinnam pana nagajanam antare ubhayanagaravasimam pi lumbini-vanam nama mangalasalavanam atthi ...
deviya tam disva salavanakilam khitukamata udapadi amacca devim gahetva salavanam pavisinu. sa mangalasalamulam gantva salasakhyam ganhitu-kama ahosi salayakha susedita-veitaggam viya onamitva deviya hatthapatham upagacchi sa hattham pasaretva sakham aggahehi tavad eva c' assa kammajavata calinsu ath' assa sanim parikkhupitva mahajano parikkami. (quoted from *Jatakattakatha*, Vol 1, ed by Bhiksu Dharm Raksit, Bharatiya Jnanapitha Kashi, 1951, p 41)

It is clear that this narration refers to the salabhanjika game, though this term is not verbally used in this passage But it appears in a parallel passage of the *Mahavastu* (Mhvst) II, p.18, 1.7-9 in Senart's edition 'sarvesam bodhisattvanam mata pratipurne dasame mase parjayati, subhulina sakyena presitam rajno; agacchatu devi iha prajayisyati, raja pratibodhayati; agamisyati salabhanjakam ca karisyati. (F. Edgerton refers to it in his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, see Note 5, of my article)

In the corresponding Aryas neither salabhanjika nor the Sala-tree are mentioned. We read :

avagahya tam vanavaram maya sakhsamvritā jinajānetrī
 vicarati citrarāthe devī amaraavadhu yatha ratividhūna
 sa kridartham upagata pilaksa-sakham bhujaṃ avalambya
 pravijmbhita salila tasya yasavato jananakale

(Mhvst, II, p. 19, 1.17, 18, quoted from *Le Mahavastu*, Text Sanskrit, poubles pour la première fois par E. Senart, Tome deuxième, Paris, 1890).

According to this passage Maya performs the game by bending down the branch of a Plaksa-tree!

Here also the performance of the salabhanjika pose appears not to be bound necessarily to the Sala-tree. This observation runs parallel with what we have already noticed in the description of a salabhanjika in the AMg-text *Rāya-pasenaijū* (Cf. p. 152), where the Asoka-tree is mentioned. Comparing the Mhvst-prose salabhanjikam ca karisyati to pilaksasakham avalambya in the Arya-metre I would not be inclined to see in this a contradiction between metre and prose with salabhanjakam in the sense of 'game of the branch bending pose', not taking sala here in the sense of sala-branch.

- * Thus the game is called by Maithili speaking children. In Bengal I heard luko-curi which would correspond to 'hide and seek', but is used in a wider sense in games.

- ¹⁵ How much the graceful pose of a woman raising her arm for any other purpose also appealed to the aesthetic sentiments of people in India is disclosed in an old Hindi stanza of the great Hindi poet Bihari, who prays to a beauty to remain in the pose which she strikes when she wants to take something from a daheri—a vessel hanging from a roof in which curd is placed -- and not to lower her raised arm. It reads:

ahe dahemri jini dharai,
 jini tu lehi uttari
 nika hai chimke chue
 aisi hi rahi nari 604

Quoted from Bihari, *Satasai-bodhini*, Prakasak: Sahitya-Seva-Sadan-Bulanala, Kashi, Samv. 1944, p.274

- ¹⁶ Cf. Vogel's remarks comparing the style of figures in Bharhut and Mathura (op. cit., p.224).

'There cannot be the slightest doubt that these pillar-figures (referring to Mathura) are derived from the images decorating the toranas of Bharhut. But how far removed in style are they from those solemn gatekeepers. The Mathura figures have a singular lack of distinction in their aggressive nudity, as Mr V. A. Smith puts it. They exhibit lasciviousness combined with grossness. Whilst Canda and Culakoka and their sisters have the appearance of heavenly nymphs their unworthy descendants are mere courtesans, exhibiting their opulent charms and gaudy jewellery.'

I, myself, had a chance to see the originals in the Mathura Museum. I felt that the figures are nearer to earth indeed and display more human artfulness and worldly affinities, but I do not think that Vogel's sharp formulation is justified here. His note however is interesting, as a Buddhist writer might have felt the same way.

- ¹⁷ aha sa plaksavrkso bodhisattvasya tejo 'nubhavenavanamya pranamatī sma
 aha mayadevi gaganatalagatava vidyuddhistim daksinam bahum prasarya
 plaksasakham grhitva salilam gaganatalam preksamana vijmbhamana
 sthitabhut, (*Lalitavistara* her v. Dr. S. Lefmann, Halle, a.S., 1902, 0.83, 1.3-7)

- * Op. cit., p.52.

²⁴ I conjecture the meaning to be 'leogriff' and suggest to read viralau instead of varalau of the printed text. Cf. Monier Williams, *viralā*, m. = *vidala*, m cat, W. In Orissa 'leogriff' is called *birala-simha* according to Pt. Sadashiv Rath Sharma, Puri, whose message was kindly conveyed to me through my friend Mr David Seyfort Ruegg (Cf. AMg. *birala*=*bidala* noted by R. Pischel in his Pkt.-Grammar, 241)

²⁵ The German word 'Bau-koerper' would be nearer to -*deha* here.

²⁶ The whole building ground is usually divided into *bhagas* and *padas* (portions and plots) before construction, to which the different parts of a building or a town are attributed

²⁷ Question mark added by the editor

²⁸ The photographs of this manuscript had been taken by Rahula Sankrtyayana in the Salu-monastery near Si-ga-rise in Tibet the negatives of which belong to the Bihar Research Society, Patna. During my studies in Patna I was introduced to this text by the kindness of Dr A S Altekar, Director of the K P. Jayaswal Institute, who made the photos of the manuscript available to me.

²⁹ All these terms with the exception of *agnisala* are already recorded in Edgerton's Dictionary PTSD also records, *mandala-mala* (sometimes *mala*) a circular hall with a 'peaked roof, a pavilion'

⁴¹ This passage, containing the most detailed description of our subject mentioned in *Silpasastras*, is from an unpublished Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript in Oriya script; *Silpaparakasa* by Rama Mahapatra Udagatha, which had been made accessible to me through the kindness of my friend Pt. Sadashiv Rath Sharma, Raghunanda Library, Puri. The manuscript is registered in this Library under No. 134. The *Silpaparakasa* was completed in the fourth year of Raja Bhavarma according to the colophon. From this I cannot conclude any definite date. The manuscript itself is a copy probably written in the sixteenth century A.D.

It is also worth while taking note of the language used in the *Silpaparakasa* passages. This work has obviously not been written by a disciple of the great Panini, but by workmen. It is the language of the guild of artisans. Note Prakritic *dakhina* instead of Skt. *daksina*, preference of ending -*e* in adhe corresponding to *urdhve*, *siram* for *śiras*, licences regarding gender, e.g. *dakhinadanda dalanusarini*.

My esteemed friend, Dr A. N. Upadhye, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, was so good as to send me his opinion about *dalamalika* in his letter dated 1st May, 1958. He writes, 'In my humble opinion, *dala-malika* is just a verbal and ideological equivalent of *sala-bhanjika*. Like *sala*, *dala* is recorded as a Desi word meaning a branch, and is current in some of the modern Indian languages, and *malika* < *malika** is to go back to the root *malla* = *mard** < *mrd* "to crush (in the fist)" and thus "bend down". The Skt. *mardika** from *mrd* has its analogy in *nartika* from *nrt*. In the light of these details, which can be easily verified, like *salabhanjika* which you translate "a female figure bending down the branch of a tree", *dalamalika* also would mean "a female figure crushing in the fist or bending the branch of a tree". The *Silpaparakasa*, as you have noted, has Prakritic in vocabulary; and that would only confirm my above suggestion. If you find any gaps in my reasoning, I would like to add the necessary links. I would be happy to hear from you your reactions on the point under discussion.'

This ingenious etymological explanation goes with what Pt S R. Sharma, who kindly introduced me into the *Silpaprakasa* in Puri, told me, when I asked him about the meaning of *dalamalika*, though he did not give such a detailed explanation.

I, however, continue to stand by my translation of *dalamalika*—'carving of a female who performs a garland in line with the branch of a tree' on account of the following reasons. *malika* itself is well established in Sanskrit in the sense of 'garland maker', 'gardener', cf. in modern Indian languages 'mali'. From this a feminine form *malika* can easily be accepted. *Malika* is also recorded in dictionaries in the sense of 'garland', cf. Monier Williams, PW, Apté, etc. I would also like to refer to the famous passage in the 1st act of Kalidasa's *Abhijanasakuntalam* where Anasuya mentions the creeper *no-malia* (Skt. *nava-malika*) under the name of *vana-josini* (Skt. *vana-joyotsna*), the self-selecting bride of the mango tree. Sakuntala remarks, upon that: The union of this couple—the creeper and the tree—has taken place at a wonderful moment, the *Vanajyotsna* is in its youth with its new blossoms, and the mango-tree appears to be capable of enjoyment on his tender sprouts.

If we only replace *nava-malika* by *malika*—'the female performer of a garland' of our *Silpaprakasa* the striking resemblance of the underlying concept of the two passages becomes apparent. There are also examples among the bas-reliefs in Bharhut where a *salabhanjika-dalamalika* appears under a mango-tree!

- ²⁵ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol III, No 2, Dec 1935, pp. 110-124

Dohada means a pregnancy desire of a woman for particular objects, e.g. the longing to sleep on a bed of flowers, which the mother of *Malli-kumari* the 19th Jaina Tirthankara had, (cf. *Malli-Jnata*, 8th chapter in *Nayadhammakahao*, No 31, 32 of my edition) Mallinatha's commentary on Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* II, 18 (*raktasokas ... dohadacchadmanasyah*) observes: *stnina* sparsat *priyangu* *vikasati*—by the touch of women the *Priyangu* creeper puts forth blossoms, *bakulah* *siddhagandusasekat*—*Bakula* through the sprinkling of a mouthful of liquor, *padaghatat* *asokas*—*Asoka* through the kick of their feet, *ulka* *kurabakau* *viksanalinganabhyam*—*Tilaka* and *Kurabaka* through their glance and embrace, *mandaro* *narmavakyad*—*Mandara* through their pleasure talk, *patu* *mrdu* *hasanac* *campako*—*Campaka* through their smart and tender laughing, *vaktra* *vatac* *cuto*—*Cuta* through the breath of their mouth, *gitan* *nameru* *vikasati*—*Nameru* puts forth blossoms through their songs, *ca puro* *nartanat* *karnikarah*—and *Karnikara* through their dancing in front of it. The idea, indicated in the above quoted stanza, that plants and trees put forth blossoms through direct or indirect contact with women is not limited to India. Honore de Balzac undertook to translate rare parchments containing an ancient ecclesiastical trial of the year A.D. 1271, conducted at Tours, from mediaeval French into French. This trial was published among his *Les Cent Contes Drolatiques* in 1837 under the title *The Succubus* included in the second ten tales. In this trial a Moorish woman was accused by the Inquisition to be obsessed of a diabolic spirit. One of the witness against her, a day labourer, confessed to the ecclesiastical judge and swore to have been by the windows of the dwellings of the Moorish woman green buds of all kinds in the winter, growing as if by magic, especially roses in a time of frost and other things for which there was need of great heat, but of this he was in no way astonished, seeing that the said foreigner threw out so much heat that when she walked

in the evening by the side of his wall he found on the morrow his salad grown, and on certain occasions she had, by the touching of her petticoats, caused the trees to put forth leaves and hastened the buds. (quoted from *Droll Stories* by Honore de Balzac, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, Newyork, Calcutta, 1949, p. 248) Another interesting occurrence outside the Indian sphere is recorded in the *Koran*, sura XIX, 16-21, with reference to the nativity of Christ. Here Maria is reported to have withdrawn with the child conceived from the spirit to a remote place in despair. There the birthpangs surprised her by the trunk of a palm-tree. She heard a voice saying that she would not worry, as the Lord had set a rivulet below her and that she should shake the palm-tree from which dates fresh and ripe would fall down. For reference cf. 'The Holy Quran' Text, Translation and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Lahore, 1938, Vol II, pp 771-773, and A. J. Arberry, 'The Koran Interpreted', in two volumes, London, George Allen, 1955, Vol I, p. 331.

The motif of the rivulet reminds of the streams of water which came up from a fountain on the occasion of the birth of the Bodhisattva Vipasyin, mentioned in *Mahavastu* I 220-19-221, 2 and in the *Mahavadanasutra*, 5f, cf. E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahavadanasutra*, Teil II, Akademie Verlag Berlin, 1956, p. 92, note 3.

The rivulet can even be traced in a German mediaeval painting which depicts the Birth of Christ by the master of the Polling tablets (about 1444) with the first identifiable German landscape painting, exhibited in the Haus der Kunst, Muenchen.

The Commentator Al-Baidawi (A.D. 1225-1260) gives an explanation which is of interest in the context of this article. After he comments upon Mary finding herself under a palm-tree when the labour pains came upon her, he writes :

'The palm-tree was dry (kanat nakhla yabusutu) and without crown foliage (la ra's verbal : "without head") and it had no fruit (leha va la tamar), and it was the time of winter (va kana al-vaqt sita), then she shook it (the palm-tree) (fa-hazzatha), the God created for it a crown-foliage, blossoms and fresh dates and so she was comforted (fa-g'ala al-Allah leha ra's va khusa va rotaba' va tasliyateha) '

Prof. K. M. Maitra, Curator of Islamic Manuscripts, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, kindly helped me to trace this passage.

These passages show that the Arabic tradition has preserved the motif of the birth of the Lord under a tree in connection with the fertilizing of a tree through the touch of the mother, called *dohada* in India.

With the above-mentioned material at hand it is near to assume that Indian motifs have been reflected here.

For reference cf. *Beidawi Commentarius in Coranum ex Codd. Parsiensibus, Dresdensibus et Lipsiensibus*, editit H. O. Fleischer, Vol. II, p. 579, 122, 23, Lipsiae 1848 and *Mary in Islam* by V. Courtois, S. J., St. Xavier's College, The Oriental Institute, Islamic Section, 30, Park Street, Calcutta, 1954, pp. 20-22.

Dr. N. Klein reminded me of an old German mediaeval song on Maria, called the *Jugheimer Leiderblatt*. According to this song Maria went through a forest full of thorns, where there had not been leaves for seven years. She carried her little child without pains under her heart. When she had carried the child in her through the forest, roses sprang up on the thorns!

Reference, *Der Zupfgeigenhausl*, ed. by Hans Breuer, Leipzig, 1922, p. 98. This song gives us another instance of how a mother bearing a child animates

plants and nature by her presence. This motif reminds strongly of the appearance of new Udumbara buds when the Bodhisattva was born and of their unfolding when his boyhood commenced. (cf. Note 40),
 About relations between Arabic and European poetry compare S. Singer, *Arabische und europäische Poesie im Mittelalter* (Abhandl. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 13), 1918.

³⁶ Canda Yaksi does not stand on a fish-tailed horse, but on a fish-tailed animal with a head which looks like that of a sheep.

^{36a} The botanical identification of the Bharhut trees is difficult. If Canda Yaksi is really depicted under a Kurabaka tree seems to me uncertain. A. Cunningham in his book *The Stupa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, mentions on p 132, No.3, an inscription of another relief reading: 'bhagavato vesabhuno bodhisalo—'The Sala Bodhi tree of the Buddha Visvabhu' and gives the photo of the tree on plate XXIX 2. Comparing the original in the Indian Museum in Calcutta with the Canda Yaksi tree and with what I have been made acquainted under the designation of Sala-trees in India, I cannot come to a definite result.

³⁷ N. G. Majumdar remarks in *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part I, Delhi, 1937, as follows:

'Canda and Culakoka bend by their right hand one of the boughs of a tree, evidently to break it (as in the salabhanjika play), and their left arm is thrown around the trunk and left leg around the stem. In his Note I on p 20 Majumdar also refers to the (pp 22,23) games sahakarakabhanjika (plucking mango fruits), puspavacayika (plucking flowers) mentioned in the *Kamasutra*.' He further observes: 'Mayadevi, the Buddha's mother, went to Lumbini to take part in the Salabhanjika play (*Mahavastu*, II 18,19) and was delivered of the child as she was holding on to the branch of a Sala tree.'

³⁸ This term is used in the *Silaparakasa*, quoted by me on p 162.

³⁹ Cf. Note 36a.

⁴⁰ There is no mention of any dohada-pregnancy desire with regard to Mayadevi in the text of the *Nidanakatha*, *Mahavastu*, and the *Lalitavistara*. The Chinese version, Ta-pen-ching, to the *Mahavadanasutra* 4g. 1, narrating the life of one of the former Buddhas, Vipasyin, stresses that his mother was free from desires. 'His mother's heart was pure, it had no thoughts of passion. She had abandoned all lascivious desires, no one could influence her and she was not intimate; she did not inflame the fire of lust. The mothers of all Buddhas are always pure.'

Translated from the German rendering in E. Waldschmidt's *Das Mahavadanasutra*, Sanskrit, verglichen mit dem Pali nebst einer Analyse der in chinesisches Uebersetzung ueberlieferten Parallel-versionen, auf Grund von Turfan Handschriften herausgegeben, Teil II, Textbearbeitung Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1956, p 87, Note 3 (Abbrev. MAV).

This is in contrast with parallel events in the history of the Jaina Tirthankara Arhat Mahi. Dohada awakes, after the third month of pregnancy has been completed in Prabhavati, the mother of her (8th chapter of *Nayadhammakahao*, No.31 of my edition).

This goes well with an explanation of dohada in *Susruta* I, 332 referring to the development of the garbha (embryo); caturthe (masi) sarvangapratyangavibhagah pravyaktataro bhavati/ garbhahardayaprayaktabhavac cetanadhatu abhivyakto bhavati/ kasmad/ tatsthanatvat/ tasmad garbhas caturthe masy abhiprayam indriyarthesu karoti/ dvihridayam ca narim dauhridinam acaksate//

Translation : 'In the fourth month a division of limbs and subordinate limbs becomes more distinct. On account of the development of the embryo the organ of conscience appears. Why ? Because its place is in the heart. The garbha therefore has a desire for the objects of senses in the fourth month. And a woman with two hearts in her is called dauhrdini'. (quoted by H. Lueders in *Zwei indische Etymologien*, *Philologica Indica*, Goettingen, 1940, pp. 45,46). According to L. Mind, *dohada* was derived from Sk.* *dvahrdā*. Lueders quotes two more parallel references, *Bhavaprakasa* I, 71 and Mallinatha to *Raghuv* III, 1 which give the same explanation as *Susruta*.

A question may well be asked why a woman is thought to be able to cause a tree to put forth blossoms by her touch and not a man. The woman could not be understood here acting procreative like a man in this connection. The idea underlying seems to be, as Lueders' etymology of *dohada* and Mallinatha's definition, quoted p. 165, make it most likely that the powerful magic life substance with which a woman is loaded while bearing a child may flow into a tree through her touch, while she is filled with a pregnancy desire, thus animating the tree.

In E. Waldschmidt's *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* III, p. 469,70, Tibetisch-chinesischer Sondertext IV (Tibetan-Chinese special text IV) the flourishing and fading away of Udumbara-blossoms is described as running parallel to the birth of the Bodhisattva (new buds appear), to his boyhood (the buds begin to unfold), to his exit into a forest (the flowers grow bigger), his entering into asceticism (flowers begin to fade away), to his giving up asceticism, regaining his strength and reaching perfect enlightenment (the flowers of the Udumbara-tree flourish again), to his turning the wheel of Dharma in Banaras (full flourishing of the flowers), to his death (fading away of flowers).

Most significantly the flourishing of the Udumbara-tree is not reported here as caused by the touch of the Bodhisattva or Buddha respectively, who is a male, or by being near the tree.⁴¹ I would like to call this process the 'wireless' influx of the Bodhisattva's and Buddha's life substance into the tree due to his supernatural powers resulting in parallel events in a tree.

⁴¹ *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 1954, Vol. III, Parts 1-4, pp. 54-71.

⁴² Quoted from *Vasudevahindī-prathamakhandam*, ed. by Bhavnagarā-sīha Sryāna Atmanandasabha, 1930, p. 85.

⁴³ Vincent A. Smith in *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, p. 382, refers to two ivory figures, conventionally known as 'Bacchus', discovered in the pulpit of the cathedral in Aachen (Germany) and observes regarding these figures 'Each represents a nude young man facing, standing with the right leg straight and the left leg crossed over it. The body is supported by the left arm which is twined round the stem of a vine overtopping and surrounding the youth with its foliage. His right hand is raised to the crown of his head, (op. cit., pl. LXXXVI, fig. 4). The pose is precisely the same as that of the woman and tree motif in Indian Art and the resemblance between the Mathura and Aachen figures is so close that in my judgement, it can not be accidental, both must have a common origin, which should be thought in Syria or Asia Minor from which Egyptian Hellenistic Art drew its inspiration. The motif is variously treated in Egypt, and, at least in one case, a woman takes the place of the youth. There is no difficulty in believing in the transference of Alexandrian ideas to India either before or after the Christian era. From Asoka's time for several centuries intercourse between parts of Egypt and India was continuous.'

In the course of this paper it has become evident that the branch-bending woman and tree motif can be fully and satisfactorily enough explained from Indian sources. The history of this motif in sculpture corroborated by literary evidences permits to see a truly indigenous Indian decorative and a mythological motif in it. We therefore also could put Smith's concluding remarks in the following way. "There is no difficulty in believing in the transference of Indian ideas to Alexandria and Asia Minor before and after the Christian era." This is confirmed by the sensational discovery of an Indian ivory statuette in Pompeii by Professor Maiuri in October 1938, published in *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology*, Volume XIII, for the year 1938, Kern Institute, Leiden, 1940, Plate I, with J. Ph. Vogel's Note on an ivory statuette from Pompeii, pages 1-5. An Indian female figure (height 24 centimeters) is shown nude and standing with her legs crossed. The right arm is raised with a particular purpose turned behind the neck in order to support a festoon of the rich necklace on her back. It is a unique piece of ivory dated A.D. 79 as terminus ante quem when the eruption of Vesuvius took place and buried this precious work of art.

This early appearance clearly shows that Indian images cannot have remained unknown during the Hellenistic period and the Roman era in the West. Vogel however rejects Smith's suggestion with the concluding remark. "The resemblance in postures between the "Bacchus" of Aachen and the salabhanjika of Indian art seems to us to be merely accidental." (*The Woman and Tree*, p. 231)

¹¹ Dr. Jitendranath Banerjia was good enough to draw my attention to K. R. Pisharoti's article 'Dohada or the Woman and Tree Motif' for which I would like to thank him heartily here.

⁴⁵ The relief contains - Top right: The dream of Queen Maya; Top left: Its interpretation; Bottom right: The Nativity; Bottom left: Presentation before the Yaksa Sakyavardhana.

⁴⁶ With regard to the Bharhut images of Culakoka Devata and Canda Yaksi Zimmer's book also follows Pisharoti's interpretation verbally. In description of Plates, 1st Vol., p. 401, on Fig. 33b we read "Culakoka Devata standing on an elephant and executing the latavestika ("creeper vine") type of tree embrace, c. first half first century B.C."

The same interpretation is given with regard to Canda Yaksi which he sees on a fish-tailed horse as Pisharoti does, (cf. my Note 36).

These notes in Zimmer's book reproduce Pisharoti's views and interpretations without any critic and without mentioning his name.

⁴⁷ At the end of this article let me express my gratitude to Dr. J. N. Banerjia, General Secretary, Asiatic Society, who kindly encouraged me to write this article, to my friend Prof. Debidas Chatterjee, Science College, Patna, who read the first proofs of a portion of this article and made valuable suggestions, to Prof. Saraswati, Publication Officer, Asiatic Society, and to Mr. B. G. Ellis, Manager of the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, who personally went through the whole article and saw to it that the photos were well printed. I thank him heartily for that.

* '*Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*', Text in Sanskrit and Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pali, nebst einer Uebersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mulasarvāstivādins, auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Ernst Waldschmidt, Teil III, 1951, Akademie-Verlag Berlin.

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